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FBIS-EEU-90-128 CONTENTS *3 July 1990*

NOTICE TO READERS: * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

ALBANIA

- Albanians Seek FRG Embassy Refuge Under Gunfire *[Cologne Radio]* 1
- UN Economic Official Hinteregger Arrives *[ATA]* 1
  - Malile Receives Hinteregger *[ATA]* 1
- Seventieth Volume of Hoxha's Works Published *[ATA]* 1

BULGARIA

- Student Unrest Continues; Hunger Strike Ends 2
  - Strike Committee News Conference *[Sofia Radio]* 2
  - Further on News Conference *[BTA]* 4
  - BZNS Condemns Farmers Threats *[BTA]* 5
  - BSP Issues Declaration *[BTA]* 5
  - Turnovo Students End Hunger Strike *[Sofia Radio]* 6
- Mikhaylov Defends Mladenov Videoclip's Validity *[BTA]* 6
- Ruse Citizens Block Danube Bridge for Two Hours *[Sofia Radio]* 6
- Society Allegedly 'Polarized' After Elections *[BTA]* 6
- BZNS Willing To Join Coalition if SDS Does *[BTA]* 7
- BSP Radicals To Hold National Conference *[DUMA 29 Jun]* 7
- Further on Renewal of Bulgarian Communist Party *[DUMA 28 Jun]* 8
- Free Market for Fruit, Vegetables Viewed *[TRUD 27 Jun]* 8
- Rumors of Consumer Goods Price Hikes Denied *[DUMA 28 Jun]* 9
- POGLED Demands Probe of Zhivkova's Death *[BTA]* 9
- EC Grants Nation Special 'Guest Status' *[Sofia Radio]* 9
- SDS's Vodenicharov on Copenhagen Talks *[BTA]* 9
  - Ambassador Garvalov Comments *[BTA]* 10

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

- Federal Assembly Session Resumes 3 Jul *[CTK]* 11
- Presidential Ministerial Appointments Notification *[Prague Radio]* 11
- Federal Assembly Presidium Members Listed *[SVOBODNE SLOVO 28 Jun]* 11
- Parliamentary Chambers Leadership Listed *[MLADA FRONTA 28 Jun]* 12
- Havel on Presidential Candidacy *[CTK]* 12
- Calfa on New Government Formation *[RUDE PRAVO 29 Jun]* 13
- Calfa on Creating Reform Conditions *[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY 29 Jun]* 13
- Calfa on His Past, Government Affairs *[LIDOVE NOVINY 22 Jun]* 13
- Poll Compares Republics' Political, Economic Views *[LIDOVE NOVINY 28 Jun]* 16
- Pithart: New Czech Government Composed of Experts *[CTK]* 17
- CTK Runs Pithart Biography 17
- More on First Slovak Parliament Session *[NARODNA OBRODA, etc., 27 Jun]* 17
- Slovak National Party Rejects Right-Wing Label *[NARODNA OBRODA 28 Jun]* 18
- Comparison of New Slovak Government Listing *[NARODNA OBRODA 28 Jun]* 18
- Agriculture Official Addresses Civic Forum Assembly *[Prague Radio]* 18
- Coalition Formation Explained to Civic Forum *[Prague Radio]* 19
- Civic Forum Assembly Discusses Future Structure *[Prague Radio]* 19
- Freedom Party Leadership Resigns *[CTK]* 19
- Founding of Moravian, Silesian CP Proposed *[RUDE PRAVO 28 Jun]* 19
- 8,800 Unemployed Registered in Late May *[RUDE PRAVO 28 Jun]* 20
- Prague Joint Stock Company Reopened *[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY 29 Jun]* 20

- Communist Party Greets CPSU Congress *[CTK]* ... 20
- Havel Notes Castro Response on Dissidents *[Prague Radio]* ... 20
- 'Good Relations' Sought With All Countries *[CTK]* ... 21
- Langos on Positive FRG Border Crossing Results *[CTK]* ... 21
- Contractor Problems With Soviet Ore Project *[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY 28 Jun]* ... 21

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

- De Maiziere Terms Unification 'Irreversible' *[Hamburg DIE ZEIT 29 Jun]* ... 22
    - Assesses Monetary Union, Gorbachev *[Hamburg BILD AM SONNTAG 1 Jul]* ... 29
    - Calls Union 'Great Success' *[Budapest Radio]* ... 30
    - Views Reunification, NATO *[BBC TV]* ... 31
- Eppelmann Rejects German NATO Membership *[ADN]* ... 32
    - Denies NVA Negotiations in Bonn *[ADN]* ... 32
- Parties Propose 2 Dec All-German Election Date *[Hamburg DPA]* ... 32
    - Land Elections Expected in Oct *[ADN]* ... 32
- Romberg Advocates Stopgap for Enterprises *[HANDELSBLATT 29 Jun]* ... 32
- People's Chamber's Ullmann: 'One-Sided' Annexation *[Tel Aviv HADASHOT 1 Jul]* ... 33
- Transport Minister Views Transportation Union *[ADN]* ... 34
- Labor Minister Urges Minimum Dismissals *[Hamburg DPA]* ... 34
- Planned Consumer Goods Import Tax Canceled *[ADN]* ... 34
- Meckel News Conference on Talks in Rome *[ADN]* ... 34
- German Social Union Elects New Chairman *[ADN]* ... 35
- Diestel Letter Implies Further Resignations *[ADN]* ... 35
    - Stresses Retraining Border Guards *[ADN]* ... 35
    - Sees No Reason To Leave Office *[ADN]* ... 35
    - Claims DSU Had Contacts With FRG *[Cologne Radio]* ... 35
- CSU Chairman Voices Support for DSU *[ADN]* ... 36
- East, West Berlin Subway Systems Reconnected *[ADN]* ... 36
- Interior Ministry Reports Crime Rate Increase *[DER SPIEGEL 2 Jul]* ... 36
- Former NDPD Paper Ceases Publication *[ADN]* ... 36
- First Private Cottbus Newspaper on Sale *[ADN]* ... 36
- New Radio Station Established in Thuringia *[ADN]* ... 36
- Northern Radio Stations Begin Joint Enterprise *[ADN]* ... 37
- German TV Sets Up Five Regional Stations *[ADN]* ... 37

HUNGARY

- Soviet Troop Withdrawal Proceeds on Schedule *[MTI]* ... 38
- Minister Fur Views Burlakov's 'Grave Threat' *[Budapest TV]* ... 38
    - Statement May Cause 'Uproar' *[MTI]* ... 38
    - Radio Views IZVESTIYA Article *[Budapest Radio]* ... 38
- Horvath Speech on Local Self-Government 2 Jul *[Budapest Radio]* ... 39
- Miners Strike at Oroszlany Collieries *[MTI]* ... 43

POLAND

- Walesa, Najder at Citizens Committees Session *[Warsaw Radio]* ... 44
    - Vatican Explains Pope's Letters *[Warsaw Radio]* ... 46
    - Mazowiecki Absence Regretted *[PAP]* ... 46
    - Movement's Future Voted On *[PAP]* ... 46
    - Walesa Closes KO's Meeting *[Warsaw Radio]* ... 47
    - Wujek Resigns From Walesa Committee *[PAP]* ... 48
    - Mazowiecki Calls for Walesa Meeting *[Warsaw Radio]* ... 48
    - KO's To Form Independent Body *[Warsaw Radio]* ... 49
    - KO's Urges Walesa-Mazowiecki Talks *[Warsaw Radio]* ... 49
    - Walesa Proposes Gdansk Meeting *[Warsaw Radio]* ... 50
- PSL Party Chairman on Striking Farmers *[Warsaw Radio]* ... 50
- Center Accord's Kaczynski on Future Government *[Warsaw Radio]* ... 50
- Jaruzelski Denies Being Inactive as President *[Warsaw Radio]* ... 50

- Ministers Announce Fuel, Food Price Hikes *[PAP]* ... 51
- Foreign Minister Skubiszewski Views German Unity *[Hamburg BILD AM SONNTAG 1 Jul]* ... 51
- Spokeswoman Optimistic on Relations With Germany *[PAP]* ... 52
- Further on Polish Officer Graves Near Kharkov *[PAP]* ... 52

ROMANIA

- Nastase Attends Council of Europe Meeting ... 54
  - Addresses Gathering *[Bucharest Radio]* ... 54
  - 'Guest Status' Requested *[Vienna DER STANDARD 2 Jul]* ... 54
  - Nastase Discusses Meeting *[Bucharest Radio]* ... 54
  - Delegation Meets With Lalumiere *[ROMPRES]* ... 55
  - Council's Bjorck Views Relations *[ROMPRES]* ... 55
- Roman, Martian Receive EEC Delegation *[Bucharest Radio]* ... 55
  - Further on Visit, Iliescu Meeting *[ROMPRES]* ... 56
- Assembly of Deputies Session Continues 2 Jul *[ROMPRES]* ... 56
  - Endorses Presidency Budget *[ROMPRES]* ... 56
- National Students Congress Convenes *[Bucharest Radio]* ... 56
  - Munteanu Elected Honorary President *[Bucharest Radio]* ... 56
- Ecological Delegation Departs for France *[ROMPRES]* ... 57
- Head of Ecological Movement Views Future Tasks *[ROMPRES]* ... 57
- Labor Ministry Works Out Unemployment Bill *[ROMPRES]* ... 57
- Gypsy Group Protests Arrests, Maltreatment *[Budapest Radio]* ... 57
- MDUR 'Regrets' Parliament's Minority Stand *[ROMPRES]* ... 58
- Industrial Cooperation Show Held With Yugoslavia *[ROMPRES]* ... 58
- Goods Traffic on Danube-Black Sea Canal Rising *[ROMPRES]* ... 58
- * Group for Social Dialogue on Unrest *["22" 22 Jun]* ... 58
- * ROMANIA LIBERA on 'Moral Crisis' *[19 Jun]* ... 60

YUGOSLAVIA

- Slovene Assembly Declares Republic's Sovereignty ... 62
  - Initial Report *[Zagreb Radio]* ... 62
  - Sovereignty Declaration *[TANJUG]* ... 62
  - Bucar Hails Initiative *[TANJUG]* ... 62
  - Abolition of Federal Assembly Proposed *[TANJUG]* ... 63
  - Pre-Declaration Discussion Reported *[Ljubljana Radio]* ... 63
  - Republic's Status Viewed *[Belgrade Radio]* ... 63
- Albanians Declare Kosovo 'Independent Unit' *[Belgrade Radio]* ... 64
  - Shabani Reads Declaration *[Pristina Radio]* ... 65
  - Move Welcomed by Kosovars *[Pristina Radio]* ... 65
- Serbian Assembly To Counter Albanian 'Violence' *[TANJUG]* ... 66
  - Serbs Want Assembly Dissolved *[Belgrade Radio]* ... 66
- Voting Figures in Serbian Referendum Reported *[TANJUG]* ... 66
  - Albanian Turnout 'Very Poor' *[TANJUG]* ... 66
  - 76-Percent Participation Reported *[TANJUG]* ... 66
- Pekic: Communists Would Lose Serbian Elections *[TANJUG]* ... 66
- Pre-Referendum Situation in Kosovo Reported ... 67
  - 'Special Circumstances' Produce Calm *[BORBA 28 Jun]* ... 67
  - Press Protests Assembly Suspension *[Stavileci in RILINDJA 23 Jun]* ... 67
  - Kosovo Propaganda Media War Alleged *[Antic in BORBA 26 Jun]* ... 68
- Independent Kosovo TV Congress Convened *[TANJUG]* ... 69
- Kosovo Serbs Reportedly Plan To Form 'Squads' *[Gecaj in RILINDJA 26 Jun]* ... 69
- Appeal for Serbia, Montenegro Unification *[TANJUG]* ... 70
- Association of Serbs in Croatia Founded *[TANJUG]* ... 71
- Montenegrin Communists Leave Democratic Forum *[TANJUG]* ... 71
- 'People's Democratic Forum of Istria' Founded *[TANJUG]* ... 71
- 'Serbian Cetnik Movement' Branch Formed *[TANJUG]* ... 71
- 'Neo-Communist Movement' Established *[TANJUG]* ... 71
- 'Democratic Action Party' Branch Formed *[TANJUG]* ... 72
- 'Democratic Party of Bosnia-Hercegovina' Created *[TANJUG]* ... 72

Drnovsek Views Current Reforms, Issues [TANJUG] ... 72
Yugoslav CSCE Delegate on Kosovo Problem [TANJUG] ... 73
Government Plans To Reopen Consulate in Sydney [TANJUG] ... 73

Albanians Seek FRG Embassy Refuge Under Gunfire

AU0307111790 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German 1100 GMT 3 Jul 90

[Text] A total of 84 people have taken refuge in the FRG Embassy in Tirana since Monday night [2 July] [seit in der Nacht zum Montag] under a hail of bullets from Albanian policemen.

According to information provided by Foreign Ministry spokesman Schumacher in Bonn today, some of them climbed over the wall of the embassy premises, and later some of them broke through the gate with a truck.

Other Western embassies in the Albanian capital have also been overrun by a wave of refugees.

FRG Foreign Minister Genscher has ordered that an emergency task force be set up. At the same time, Bonn has made several strong protests to the Albanian Government.

UN Economic Official Hinteregger Arrives

AU2906120790 Tirana ATA in English 0946 GMT 29 Jun 90

[Text] Tirana, June 29 (ATA)—The under secretary general of UNO, Executive Secretary of the Economic Commission on Europe (ECE) Gerald Hinteregger arrived on a visit to our country on June 28 at the invitation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania.

At the airport he was received by the deputy minister of foreign affairs, Muhamet Kapllani, and other comrades. Present was also the charge d'affairs of the PSR of Albania under the United Nations office in Geneva, Alfred Papuciu.

Malile Receives Hinteregger

AU0107141190 Tirana ATA in English 0802 GMT 1 Jul 90

[Text] Tirana, July 1 (ATA)—On June 30, Reis Malile, minister for foreign affairs received the UN under secretary general and executive secretary of the UN Economic Commission on Europe, Gerald Hinteregger.

In the course of this meeting they spoke on some developments of the present world situation, dwelling particularly on the economic problems and the growing role of the UNO [UN Organization]. Comrade Reis Malile expressed his concern for Albania's active participation in the activities of the Economic Commission on Europe and the other organisms of the UN system.

Present were also the interim charge d'affaires of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania under the UN office in Geneva, Alfred Papuciu.

Seventieth Volume of Hoxha's Works Published

AU0107140990 Tirana ATA in English 0805 GMT 30 Jun 90

[Text] Tirana, June 30 (ATA)—The 70th volume of Comrade Enver Hoxha's works came off the press. This volume, the materials of which belong to the March-April period 1979, comprises discussions, talks and notes, the majority of which are published for the first time.

Many writings of this period comprise ideas and teachings of relevant value concerning such important problems, such as the consolidation of the line of the masses and socialist democracy, the revolutionisation of the party work to respond to the demands of the time, the perfection of the democratic procedures of elections in the party, the fulfilment and overfulfilment of the economic plans, the safeguard of the freedom and independence of the homeland, etc.

The volume is equipped with indices.

Student Unrest Continues; Hunger Strike Ends

Strike Committee News Conference

AU0207142190

[Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1030 GMT on 2 July 1990 begins a live relay from Sofia University of a news conference organized by the strike committee of the students of Sofia University on the subject of election breaches committed during the election campaign for the June elections of the Grand National Assembly and the elections themselves.

The reporter states that the conference began about 10 minutes ago in response to part of the striking students' demands. Much shouting and chanting by the students is heard in the background. The reporter states that those on the platform at the news conference include Zhelyu Zhelev and Georgi Spasov of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS]; Dimitur Popov, secretary of the Central Electoral Commission; Petur Dertliev (chairman of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party), Ginyo Ganev (chairman of the Fatherland Front National Council), and others. The proceedings are sometimes drowned out by noise and shouting coming from the student audience.

At 1034 GMT an unidentified student spokesman recalls the start of students' strike 22 days ago, which began in Sofia and rapidly spread all over the country. The speaker reiterates the main demands made in the Sofia students' declaration: announcement with full media coverage of the "numerous election breaches and manipulations," including "breaches of voting secrecy," "manipulation of voters by those abusing state power or their official position"; the resignation of Pavel Pisarev, director of the Bulgarian Television Committee, because of the biased television coverage of the elections and the students' strike; and an announcement concerning the authenticity of the television videoclip of President Mladenov addressing a Sofia demonstration on 14 December 1989 (in which he is alleged to have said "Let the tanks come"). The spokesman says the students started their strike as the only possible only way to force the government to address these issues. The spokesman refers to the various "attempts to eliminate the strike by traditional methods," which all failed. He describes the declaration of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (on the readiness of the law enforcement organs to act against the striking students) as "an attempt to instill fear, but stresses that the strike has received wide support from the public. He lists the numerous statements and actions of support for the strike, and confirms that the students will continue "to fight for truth and justice, for moral purity and democracy."

At 1039 GMT the conference introduces the individuals taking part in the news conference, including: Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev (welcomed with loud cheers) and SDS spokesman Georgi Spasov; Lyuben Gotsev (of the Bulgarian Socialist Party) [BSP]; Interior Minister Atanas Semerdzhiev; and Dimitur Popov, secretary of the Central Electoral Commission. The chairman states that the student strike committees are repres
entated by Atanas Kirchev and other students representing striking students in Plovdiv, Varna, Blagoevgrad, and elsewhere. Also present are Dr. Petur Dertliev (leader of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party), representatives of the Bulgarian Movement for Elections, representatives from the Office of the President, and teaching staff from Sofia University.

At 1044 GMT an official of the Central Electoral Commission, is called to report "materials concerning certain violations during the elections." Popov begins by stressing that the information he is about to report relates to "tip-offs and complaints" concerning "breaches in the election campaign, the electoral registers, breaches in the electoral process, and agitation on election day," application of pressure on voters, and so on, and it has not yet been confirmed that actual breaches were committed. He then gives numerous detailed examples of reports of minor violations, such as canvassing in Svilengrad on election day by the Nikola Petkov Bulgarian National Agrarian Union (BZNS), various reports of attempts to persuade voters to vote with BSP red ballot forms. Details of many of the cited reports of violations in individual constituencies are indistinct, and reception deteriorates. The official ends his report at 1104 GMT.

The chairman then invites Dimitur Popov, secretary of the Central Electoral Commission to make a statement in connection with the above. Popov makes a 14-minute statement giving statistical data on warnings and tip-offs received concerning violations, which is almost completely indistinct. He ends his statement at 1118 GMT.

At 1118 GMT the chairman invites questions from the floor. A lengthy unstructured question-and-answer session then begins, with many interruptions. Speakers are often drowned out by noise in the hall, and monitorability varies from poor to unmonitorable. Some examples of questions and answers follow:

At 1121 GMT Plamen Gotsev of ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME asks Interior Minister Atanas Semerdzhiev, referring to the Interior Ministry declaration concerning readiness to use force against the striking Sofia students: "Is it possible for the Ministry of Internal Affairs to issue a declaration, and for the minister himself to know nothing about it?" Semerdzhiev's answer is categorical: "Yes, it is possible!" His further remarks are drowned out by shouting.

Gotsev also asks Georgi Pirinski, as a BSP representative, "whether he feels any responsibility for the state of health of the students on hunger strike in Veliko Turnovo," and what is Pirinski's opinion concerning the students' strike. Pirinski replies that the students' demand concerning publication of their strike declaration by the media has been respected, and that the goverment has already taken steps to have the students' demands investigated.

At 1130 GMT Docent Ivan Zakhariev asks Dimitur Popov, secretary of the Central Electoral Commission, why, despite all Popov's briefings, no precise data have yet been published on the results in the 119 single-mandate constituences in which one candidate won a majority in the first round of the elections. Popov's reply is indistinct.

At 1203 GMT an indistinct question is asked about discrepancies between the protocols of the election polling stations and the final protocol of the Central Election Commission. Popov rejects the insinuation.

At 1205 GMT Lieutenant Colonel Nikov from the Ministry of Internal Affairs says that he visited Plovdiv yesterday in connection with investigating election irregularities.

At 1206 GMT a student asks a further question about election manipulation and late publication of election regulations. The same student asks Pavel Pisarev why the current news conference is not being carried live by the Bulgarian Television. Popov defends the functioning of the Central Election Commission and describes efforts to prevent manipulations. Pisarev's answer is indistinct.

The quality of reception deteriorates significantly and by 1211 GMT it is almost totally indistinct.

At 1215 GMT Zhelyu Zhelev rejects any connection between the SDS and the students' strikes throughout the country. In addition he expresses hope that things will find a peaceful solution.

At 1217 GMT Petur Dertliev of the Social Democratic Party expresses support for the students' strikes and the demands raised by the students, and stresses that the strikes are legal both on the basis of the Bulgarian Constitution and the Human Rights Declaration.

At 1225 GMT Pavel Pisarev, director of the Television Committee, takes the floor and says that since the National Assembly elects the chairman of the Bulgarian Television, the National Assembly will also have to deal with the issue of his resignation. In addition, Pisarev points out that he enjoys substantial support among members of all political forces.

At 1230 GMT Aleksandur Yordanov, chief editor of the newspaper 21 VEKA (21st Century) paper says that the Government and Petur Mladenov have been evading their responsibility. He urges Mladenov to come to the students "and give them his word of honor that he had never said the sentence about the tanks." Yordanov also notes the suspicious delay in checking the authencity of the relevant videoclip. Finally, Yordanov also refers to election manipulation and rigging. Dimitur Popov rejects the allegation about election manipulations.

At 1238 GMT a student asks what political institution will assume the responsibility of answering the students. A professor proposes that the protocols of the election sections should be released and given to an independent commission of experts to check their authenticity. Popov answers by saying that no document has been hidden, and that nobody has asked to verify the protocols of the election sections. Further on, he says that the protocols are in the hands of the Grand National Assembly, which is entitled to deal with the protocols as it pleases.

At 1245 GMT Atanas Semerdzhiev, minister of internal affairs, takes the floor and states that no order had been given to begin a military action against the demonstrators at the end of December 1989, and that Petur Mladenov had issued no order to use tanks or any other weapons. Semerdzhiev pledges to do everything possible to safeguard law and order in the country.

At 1250 GMT an unidentified person says that the experts checking the authenticity of Mladenov's videoclip will publish their findings tomorrow (3 July).

At 1255 GMT a professor describes the news conference as a "dialogue between deaf people." He expresses support for the students' strikes and stresses that the students' demands go much deeper than the original three claims, because they refer to the entire sociopolitical system in the country.

At 1302 GMT Chavdar Minchev, official spokesman for President Mladenov, states that "active consultations" are continuing on the students' strike and that an agreement is imminent. A spokesman for the students' strike committee immediately rises to refute Minchev's statement, pointing out that in fact "no talks are being held at the moment."

At 1310 GMT reception again deteriorates, becoming indistinct for several minutes.

At 1314 GMT a student is heard referring to the "critical condition" of a student who is continuing her hunger strike. "What shall I say to this girl after this news conference," the student asks.

At 1315 GMT a reporter says that "long lines have formed in front of the five microphones," therefore it is unclear when the live relay of the news conference will end.

At 1317 GMT a reporter from DUMA daily asks the students' strike committee what actions are to be expected in the future. The answer is indistinct. Reception remains indistinct for several minutes.

At 1328 GMT a question is asked about the procedure for releasing the official election results. A representative of the Central Election Commission clarifies the procedure and stresses that it was published in the press before the elections.

At 1333 GMT a student says that not only the Elections Law, but also "ethical laws" have been violated by the ruling party, and refers to the "information blackout" on the students' strike.

At 1335 GMT a student says that he will continue his hunger strike until Pavel Pisarev resigns. He protests against the "unwillingness of Petur Mladenov and Aleksandur Lilov to attend the news conference." He also warns of "danger of a civil war if the irresponsibility of those who rule Bulgaria continues."

At 1339 GMT a representative of the Union of Democratic Forces gives his "word of honor that the videoclip on Mladenov referring to the tanks has not been manipulated." This statement is followed by prolonged applause.

At 1342 GMT the conference chairman says that the news conference cannot continue much longer, and asks the representatives of the groups represented to make final statements. A student interrupts him and asks whether it is true that employees of the Ministry of Internal Affairs have infiltrated the striking students. Atanas Semerdzhiev, minister of internal affairs, says that "there is not a single employee of the Ministry of Internal Affairs among the strikers." Another participant asks Georgi Pirinski to disclose the election budget of the Bulgarian Socialist Party. Pirinski says that he has no information about the total amount of the BSP election budget.

At 1350 GMT a student asks Semerdzhiev whether he remembers that on 30 May he announced that the investigation of the death of a SDS official ended without any criminal findings, whereas the investigation is actually still continuing. In his answer Semerdzhiev refers to the "very complex political situation," and says that he based his 30 May statement on "preliminary information," and had later asked Petur Simeonov from the SDS to take part in the investigation of the violence against SDS officials. "All the materials of the investigation have been given to SDS representatives," Semerdzhiev says.

At 1356 GMT a journalist says that earlier Atanas Semerdzhiev had said to him that "he is not interested in the findings of the experts investigating Mladenov's videoclip, because he believes Mladenov's statement that he had not referred to tanks," and invites Semerdzhiev to comment. Semerdzhiev says that what he meant to say was that Mladenov issued no order to move the tanks against the demonstrators. Semerdzhiev's answer is interrupted with student cheers and catcalls.

At 1401 GMT the conference chairman again invites the leaders of the various groups represented at the news conference to make their final statements.

At 1404 GMT a representative of the student strike committee reminds Semerdzhiev that the issue in question is not whether Mladenov issued an order to bring in tanks, but whether he said the sentence on the videoclip. "I was not there, so I can say nothing about it," Semerdzhiev answers.

At 1406 GMT an unidentified religious person blesses the students for their efforts to discover the truth.

At 1408 GMT yet another call is made for final statements. The floor is then given to Zhelyu Zhelev. Zhelev describes the students' demands as "legal and reasonable," says that "the demands can be satisfied," and invites Mladenov "to give his word of honor, as the students demand." "This can be done this very day," Zhelev says, concluding his two-minute statement.

At 1411 GMT Georgi Pirinski stresses in his one-sentence statement that the BSP is ready to seek an immediate reasonable solution.

At 1412 GMT Petur Dertliev, chairman of the Social Democratic Party, takes the floor. He speaks about the importance of the "civic dignity," and praises the students for their actions. He warns Semerdzhiev to refrain from any violence against the students and urges the students: "Be on the alert, protect our democracy." Further on he describes the vices of the totalitarian regime and claims that "strikes are normal phenomena in a democracy." Any description of the students' strike as anarchy acts against democracy, Dertliev says. His statement is followed by prolonged applause.

At 1421 GMT an unidenfied woman takes the floor and praises the students' strike, calling "a great moral victory of the entire nation."

At 1422 GMT Vasil Petrov makes a final statement on behalf of the student strike committee. He describes the importance of the news conference in "revealing the real character of the strike and the students' demands." He thanks the students and the officials who attended.

At 1424 GMT the news conference ends. The studio announcer announces the end of the live relay, and points out that "many questions remained unanswered."

Further on News Conference

AU0207191090 Sofia BTA in English 1804 GMT 2 Jul 90

["Students Sit-In Will Go On Until All Demands Are Met"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 2 Jul (BTA)—One demand of the striking students has already been met, but the sit-in will continue until the other two major demands are fulfilled, too, said a Sofia University Strike Committee representative speaking at the end of a nearly five-hour-long news conference.

The news conference was organized by the Students Strike Committees and by the Association for Fair Elections. It was attended by Mr Dimitur Popov, secretary of the Central Electoral Commission, by Dr Zhelyu Zhelev, chairman of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), by Mr Georgi Pirinski, deputy chairman of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP), by leaders of SDS- affiliated parties and organizations, by Colonel General Atanas Semerdzhiev, minister of internal affairs, and by Mr Chavdar Minchev, spokesman for the Presidency.

The news conference was broadcast live on national radio and this gave the students reason to say that their demand for the allegations and complaints about election abuses to be made public has been met.

The participants heard read a declaration of the Strike Committees accusing the Government of failing to take a stand on the students' demand, even though the sit-ins have been in progress for 22 days now.

As their second demand, the students urge for the publications of the results of an independent experts' examination of a videotape filmed on December 14, 1989 and compromising President Petur Mladenov. General Semerdzhiev, who was chief of the General Staff of the Bulgarian People's Army in December, assured the participants in the news conference that no order for military interference had been received at that time. Mr Georgi Spasov, spokesman for the SDS, said that the commission checking the authenticity of the video started work four days ago and it may be ready with its findings tomorrow. The students insisted that the result of the examination be made public immediately after that or that the president pledges upon his word that he did not say the phrase about the tanks.

The striking students also insist on the resignation of Mr Pavel Pisarev, chairman of the Television Committee who, in their view, showed bias to a definite political force. Mr Pisarev, greeted with jeers, told the news conference that he had handed in his resignation but it had to be considered by the Grand National Assembly.

At the end of the news conference the SDS leader, Dr Zhelyu Zhelev, said that the students' demands are legitimate and can be met soon. Mr Georgi Pirinski said that the BSP is ready to cooperate for a consideration of the students demands and for a settlement of the dispute.

Dr Petur Dertliev, the leader of the Social Democratic Party, called on all political forces to declare that the siege of Sofia, for which the Union of Cooperative Farms called as a countermeasure to the students sit-ins, is unconstitutional and that no political formation wants to side with it.

BZNS Condemns Farmers Threats

AU0207164490 Sofia BTA in English 1559 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Text] Sofia, 2 Jul (BTA)—The Agrarian Party today issued a declaration condemning the peremptory threat of part of the leadership of the Union of Cooperative Farms to besiege the capital city with farming machines and transport vehicles if the students sit-in is not ended by July 11.

The leadership of the party calls on its members, supporters and sympathizers who work as farming machine operators and drivers to declare themselves resolutely against that action.

The Bulgarian Agrarian Party calls on the political parties, organizations and movements to be utmostly restrained and sensible so as to lower the degree of political and public confrontation in society.

BSP Issues Declaration

AU0207202890 Sofia BTA in English 1957 GMT 2 Jul 90

["BSP Calls For Sound Reason"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 2 Jul (BTA)—"The Presidency of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) proposes to the leaderships of the major political forces, to the civic initiatives and associations, including the students' Strike Committees, to resume immediately the talks started on the initiative of the president for finding solutions to ease social tensions and to end the strikes," reads a declaration of the Presidency which was circulated here late this evening.

The declaration voices concern over the political situation in the country and over the alarming tendencies in it. There is a growing threat to civil peace and to the desirable peaceful transition.

"The political forces and the public movements are duty-bound to show sound reason and a heightened sense of civic and political responsibility," the declaration says.

"The Presidency of the BSP Supreme Council reiterates the party's readiness to take part, through its representatives in the Grand National Assembly and in the bodies of state power, in the efforts to clear the Bulgarian public concern, including the questions raised by the students," the declaration says.

The BSP categorically disagrees with all appeals and actions leading to confrontation and conflict in society such as threats to blockade the capital city and other towns, calls for civil disobedience, disruption of the operation of vital institutions and facilities.

"Everyone has the right to his own form of protest, provided it does not interfere with the rights of others," says an announcement of the Office of the President. "The blockade of Sofia, for which the Union of Cooperative Farms has called, would make difficult the life of the entire population of the capital city and would complicate the conflict situation. For this reason one such action should be renounced," says the announcement which was made public late this evening.

Turnovo Students End Hunger Strike

AU0207201990 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Text] The students' strike committee at Veliko Turnovo's St. Kiril and Metodiy University decided to end their indefinite hunger strike, which began 11 days ago.

After the health of three striking students had drastically deteriorated, all striking students insisted on turning the indefinite hunger strike into a relay hunger strike. The protest action will continue outside the building of the Rector's Office. Groups of four students will take turns in conducting the hunger strike.

Mikhaylov Defends Mladenov Videoclip's Validity

AU0207145590 Sofia BTA in English 1425 GMT 2 Jul 90

["'The President Said It,' Says Author of Video"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 2 Jul (BTA)—The author of the video showing President Mladenov as saying "the tanks should better move in" is Director Evgeni Mikhaylov.

He publicly admitted his authorship at a rally in support of the students yesterday and at a news conference in Sofia University today.

"I bear a moral responsibility as a man and a professional. I don't want to influence the investigation. The only thing I can do before myself and my children is to say, upon my word, that the television broadcast the truth," Mr Mikhaylov said.

He repeated his invitation to the other participants in the events on December 14, the people who tried to calm down the demonstrators wanting a repeal of the constitutional guarantee of the Communist Party's leading role and those who were close to Mr Petur Mladenov at that moment to pledge their word of honor on the truth.

"I wonder at the ethics of those people," Mr Mikhaylov said. "I don't know how they will be looking their children in the eyes after today."

Mr Evgeni Mikhaylov, 36, graduated in film direction in Moscow. He had directed two feature films, "A Home for Gentle Souls" and "Death Can Wait Awhile", which have won prizes at international and Bulgarian festivals, and he has made numerous documentaries.

Over the last few days he has received numerous threatening phone calls at his home, a member of his family said.

Ruse Citizens Block Danube Bridge for Two Hours

AU0207205290 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Text] On 2 July, several dozen citizens of Ruse, and members and supporters of the Civic Disobedience Initiative, blocked vehicle traffic over the Danube Bridge for two hours. In addition they continued their peaceful strike to protest Ruse's chemical pollution coming from the north.

The Coordination Council of this organization, which was spontaneously formed several days ago, reported today that its actions have already been supported by the at least 500 people, who signed a petition, and by the citizens of Sofia and Pernik.

The Civic Disobedience Initiative will firmly defend its positions, and tomorrow from 1900 to 2000 [1600 to 1700 GMT], will again block the Bulgarian-Romanian border.

The symbolic sit-in strike, announced by the Union of Democratic Forces in Ruse, continues at the Danube Bridge Border Checkpoint. The situation in this camp is also reported to be calm. The participants patiently await the results of the meeting between Andrey Lukanov and Petre Roman, which will take place on Wednesday [4 July]. As already announced, if the results are unsatisfactory, the Coordination Strike Committee reserves the right to effect a radical measure—a total blockade of the Danube Bridge Border Checkpoint.

Society Allegedly 'Polarized' After Elections

AU0207082690 Sofia BTA in English 0707 GMT 2 Jul 90

["Society Polarized; Politicians Seeking Centre"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 2 Jul (BTA weekly review by Ms. M. Velkovska)—Everybody in Bulgaria would agree with one thing, that the society is polarized. It has been proved by the elections, it becomes obvious by the students' strike which has been going on for three weeks now. According to the Bulgarian jazz man Milcho Leviev who has been working in the United States for years the students' strike is more important even than the elections. I am proud of the students, he said.

While supporters and activists of the opposition organizations, intellectuals and young people side with the students and see in them an example of civic dignity and morality, others call upon the academic youth to continue the tradition of summer youth brigades and gather in the crops. There have been even threats if the students do not call off their strike, tractors and combines will block the capital. This was used for making gloomy jokes in the spirit of the international topic: tankmen—miners—combine- operators.

One of the students' demands is to get an experts' opinion as to the film material broadcast by the Television Studio of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) according to which President Mladenov was ready to let the tanks come and disperse the demonstrators in Sofia at the end of last year. A commission of experts began its work on this matter, rumours are heard that the country may have a new president, opinions were expressed that any doubts as to the president amount to mistrust in the presidential institution. A politologist declared that the film material was "a political blunder" of the opposition.

The mistakes of the opposition and the ruling party in the election campaign are analysed and commented on. Some authors, even those who declared themselves to be supporters of the opposition, come to the conclusion that a coalition government should be formed. In a report presented by the leader of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP), Aleksandur Lilov, it is said that one of the key problems of his party is the formation of a multi-party government: "The maximum goal should be a government of national consensus. The minimum goal a government made up of experts from different parties and non-party members." For the time being these goals seem unachievable, judging by the statements of the leaders of the other political forces represented at the Bulgarian Parliament.

The leadership of the BSP appreciates its success and notes that for the first time the party has come to power after free and democratic elections, but guards itself against euphoria. The parliamentary debates are forthcoming, there will be municipal elections and a congress of the BSP. Actually, the BSP has got to face many problems and not as a ruling party only. Having in mind the polarization of society, the country would not accept a one-party government, the spokesman of the BSP said. At the same time the calls of the radicals within the BSP for more tangible changes, for distancing the party from its discredited activists and for its becoming a social democratic part have become very frequent of late.

Guesswork is also a frequent topic: Will the Socialist Party, which some people call a coalition and not a party (ranging from Stalinists to Social Democrats), split? If the party disintegrates, the conditions would be created for forming a centre in political life. Almost nobody denies that such a centre is necessary, but for the time being it is only a possible prospect.

The same question is asked about the other political pole—the SDS coalition. The leaders of the 16 parties and organizations it comprises are firm for the time being: The SDS is a strong coalition and it will not form a government with the BSP.

BZNS Willing To Join Coalition if SDS Does

AU0207164290 Sofia BTA in English
1601 GMT 2 Jul 90

["BZNS Remains Committed to Its Stand"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 2 Jul (BTA)—The Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS) does not object to the participation of its members in a government of experts, if they are invited to take part, on the condition that experts of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) participate, too. Mr Viktor Vulkov, chairman of the BZNS, said today.

He made the statement in connection with the different interpretations of his televised statement on June 29.

"We remain committed to the idea that Bulgaria needs a broadly representative government of national concord with the participation of representatives of the three major political forces: the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party], the SDS and the BZNS," Mr Vulkov said today.

BSP Radicals To Hold National Conference

AU0307075990 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
29 Jun 90 pp 1, 2

[Angel Bonev report: "Radicals in BSP Convene National Conference"]

[Text] A national conference of the clubs for radical change and their supporters will be held in Sofia on 28 and 29 July. This was decided at a meeting held on 28 June by the initiators of the appeal to members and supporters of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] (which was published in DUMA on 26 June). The participants in the meeting stated that they did not intend to leave the BSP, but at the same time stressed that their appeal does not merely relate to the renewal of the party, but to creating a fundamentally new party in the spirit of the democratic European socialist tradition, because in their view only such a party can overcome the political isolation in which the BSP is now situated.

It was announced that hundreds of calls have been coming in every day since the publication of the appeal from people across the country: representatives of primary party organizations, members of clubs of the Alternative Socialist Association [ASO], "Road to Europe," "Demos," and other platforms and ideological trends in the party, and many ordinary Socialists who have not yet been registered at their places of residence. All solidly support the appeal of the radicals in the BSP to unite forces and take immediate action.

The meeting discussed basic issues concerning the organization of the clubs for radical change, as ideologically united centers for working on the party's members and sympathizers. A great number of ideas and proposals were put forward on holding discussion meetings and regional conferences as a stage in the preparations for the national conference, whose date has already been fixed.

The participants in the meeting adopted a decision to start preparing at once the main documents for the conference, namely the two platforms for radical changes in the BSP—ideological and organizational. It is expected that the theses for these platforms will be ready by the end of next week. It was decided that all further activity would be directed by a Council of Initiators, consisting of the 12 persons who signed the appeal. A coordinating group is also being set up which today will start giving consultations in the BSP club in Sofia, as well as on telephone numbers 80-11-36 and 87-60-62. Coordinators have already been appointed for Sofia, Plovdiv, Blagoevgrad, Vratsa, Ruse, and other towns.

The participants in the meeting addressed an appeal to the primary party organizations and BSP clubs, and to all socialists and democrats, to help by offering ideas, proposals, and money for preparing the national conference.

Further on Renewal of Bulgarian Communist Party

AU3006212390 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 28 Jun 90 p 2

[Nikolay M. Kunchev article: "A New Bulgarian Communist Party?"]

[Text] The rumors that the name of the Bulgarian Communist Party has been restored have proven to be true. At an extraordinary plenum of the Party of the Working People held in Sofia on 21 June in the "Green Spaces" Building, a resolution was adopted to change the name of the party to the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP].

Vladimir Spasov was elected chairman of the Central Committee of the BCP, Ivan Peychev was elected deputy chairman, and Ivan Tsvetanov, as secretary and spokesman. Of the 250 persons attending the plenum, 238 supported the new name, four abstained, and eight voted against.

The former Party of the Working People was formed on 25 April 1990 and registered on 7 May. It declared itself to be the successor of Blagoev's party. The party preaches united and glorious communism as a cure for the ills of human society.

The party's leaders claim that it has about 15,000 members. Membership is obtained by application, and all bureaucratic delays are avoided. The party has influence among the workers, laborers, peasants, teachers, doctors, architects, and others. The idea is that the new BCP should be a party of pure, uninvolved Communists.

At the plenum the majority of the speakers made critical remarks about the Rights and Freedoms Movement, the monarchist movement, and the "Ilinden" Macedonian Organizations.

Vladimir Spasov, chairman of the BSP Central Committee, was born on 1 April 1925 in the village of Dolna Lisina, Bosilegrad district. He graduated with a degree in Bulgarian philology in Sofia. He is married with two children, knows Serbian and Russian, and can speak French.

Free Market for Fruit, Vegetables Viewed

AU3006210090 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 27 Jun 90 p 1

[Mariya Boyadzhieva report: "Shortages Take Priority"]

[Text] The first step toward the market economy was taken in March this year with the decree on free negotiations for purchasing agricultural products. In midsummer we are eating tomatoes, cucumbers, cherries, and strawberries costing two leva per kilogram, while peppers and green beans cannot be obtained for less than four leva.

It was expected that with the liberalization of prices the market would be saturated, and the producers and consumers would be content. However, this is not the case. The purchasing organizations of the Bulgarplod Economic Trust have no financial possibilities of buying at free prices when they still do not know what the prices of their processed products will be (!). Contracts have been concluded for 600,000 tonnes of fruit and vegetables, but barely 43,000 tonnes had been purchased as of 22 June. This is seven percent of the total amount, and much less than the quantity purchased at the same time last year. The canning enterprises have so far produced goods valued at less than 50 million leva.

The producers are interested in selling at higher prices, but the purchasers find it difficult to pay them, so that thousands of tonnes of tomatoes remain unpurchased. In the orchards near Burgas, Lovech, and Ruse 800 tonnes of cherries and strawberries are rotting. Apricots, morello cherries, and peaches are ripening, but it is very likely that they will suffer the same fate. There is a shortage of manpower in the fields. The contracts signed between the cooperative farms and the industrial enterprises are not being fulfilled. No one is promising to organize brigades of students and schoolchildren for the harvesting work. It is a wicked shame for fruit and vegetables to rot in the fields. At the same time, keen people are going off to Greece to pick olives, oranges, and tomatoes. There they pay in foreign currency.

Minister Todor Pandov assures us that "an anticrisis program is under way which gives priority to the development of agriculture and the food industry. The final goal is the transition to a market economy."

However, how is this priority reflected in practice? Perhaps in the fact that only 11,500 tonnes of the 43,300 tonnes of sugar needed have been provided? Or in the fact that 12,000 tonnes of fruit pulps remain in special stores since last year? They are waiting for sugar. Further thousands of tonnes will be added to this mountain, and then it will turn out that there are no containers available. The pulp will then be exported! "No," the people in Bulgarplod reply, "we are not permitted to sell raw materials at low prices."

Perhaps the priorities are expressed in the fact that the canning enterprises are short of 74 million jars (the glassworks are not fulfilling their obligations either), and lack 2,200 tonnes of aluminium strip, while the Kremikovtsi Metallurgical Combine almost refuses to negotiate or sign contracts for 27,500 tonnes of tinplate. How are the canning plants supposed to operate?

The free negotiation of prices for agricultural products has opened the door for exports. In Bulgaria over 100 purchasing organizations outside the Bulgarplod network are buying and selling for hard-currency cherries, raspberries, strawberries, apricots, and peaches—the very fruits used to make childen's foods. Perhaps in a few months time' we will buy for dollars our own processed fruit and vegetables to feed our children?

Rumors of Consumer Goods Price Hikes Denied

AU2906172990 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
28 Jun 90 p 1

[Dimitrana Aleksandrova report]

[Text] No price hikes are planned from 1 July.

The persistently spreading rumor about large increases in the prices of basic food products is particularly absurd.

As far back as the end of March, the government announced that it was freezing the prices of food goods. The only exceptions were fruit and vegetables, but the prices for these have depended on supply and demand since February. The liberalization of the prices of a further 26 types of goods and certain services is news that is already three months old.

It is not clear who started the rumors about the price hikes, which are now leading informed citizens to join the queues, or why the rumors were spread. In any event, the last document, signed the other day by Finance Minister Belcho Belchev and Petur Balevski, chairman of the Committee on Prices, ordered the opposite; the document lists 23 types of goods whose prices will not be affected by inflation of the costs of the raw and other materials used in their manufacture.

This list includes children's and baby clothes, meat and meat products, milk and dairy products (not including delicatessen foods), flour, bread, bread and pasta products, refined sunflower oil, laundry and toilet soaps (not luxury soaps), table wine, plum and grape brandy, lemonade and bottled soda and mineral waters, eggs, and untreated hides. It also covers babies' and children's knitwear, clothing, footwear, stockings, and blankets; and ladies' and men's footwear, except for those made of natural leather and suede. The order extends to all types of fabrics, except for hemp and linen materials and fabrics containing more than 80 percent of natural raw materials, imported fibers, and silks, as well as garments made from such fabrics. The prices of knitted outerwear and underwear and school bags are also frozen.

Because monopoly producers are also appearing on the road to the market economy, the Committee on Prices will control those producers who attempt to profit from their position or from persistent shortages of goods.

POGLED Demands Probe of Zhivkova's Death

AU0207150690 Sofia BTA in English
1335 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Text] Sofia, 2 Jul (BTA)—There are doubts as to the actual circumstances of Lyudmila Zhivkova's death, the POGLED weekly writes.

In a publication brought out today the paper of the Union of Bulgarian Journalists recalls the official version according to which the daughter of Todor Zhivkov—an influential member of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party who was in charge of Bulgarian culture, died from a hemorrhage of the brain. The paper draws attention to some strange circumstances in connection with the post-mortem of the deceased who died on July 21, 1981 and to the statement made by one of the physicians who took part in the autopsy who said that "there are certain things which should not be disclosed for the sake of the memory of the deceased".

POGLED reminds the rumors that spread after Lyudmila Zhivkova's death according to which she "was murdered", "committed suicide", "died from complete exhaustion as a result of following Indian diets too strictly", and so on.

The paper makes an appeal for publishing the documents related to Lyudmila Zhivkova's death to clarify the truth.

EC Grants Nation Special 'Guest Status'

AU0207202190 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Text] The EC granted Bulgaria special guest status, AFP reported from Innsbruck today. The decision, which was announced today, was unanimously adopted by the expanded Bureau of the EC Parliamentary Assembly, which confers in Innsbruck.

In the future, the Bulgarian Parliament can send six deputies to the sessions of the European Parliament in Strasbourg. Bulgaria is the seventh East European country which has obtained this special status.

SDS's Vodenicharov on Copenhagen Talks

AU3006194190 Sofia BTA in English
1849 GMT 30 Jun 90

["Opposition Lauds Bulgarian Diplomacy"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 30 Jun (BTA)—"For the first time the actions of Bulgarian diplomats were free from the party principles which crippled them until recently and they worked as equal and constructive partners in Copenhagen," said Mr. Rumen Vodenicharov, an M.P. for the opposition Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), commenting on national television the second meeting on the human dimension of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Mr. Vodenicharov was the first representative of the opposition and of a human rights movement to attend such an event together with the official Bulgarian delegation.

Mr. Rumen Vodenicharov recalled that Bulgaria sponsored the motion against torture. In the opinion of the SDS representative, the official Bulgarian delegate warded off brilliantly the Yugoslav representatives' attack on the matter of a "Macedonian minority," which does not exist in Bulgaria. Mr. Rumen Vodenicharov noted the lack of serious criticism and reproaches to Bulgaria and observed that Turkey did not lay claims, either.

Ambassador Garvalov Comments

AU0107155990 Sofia BTA in English 1459 GMT 1 Jul 90

["Bulgaria's Success at Copenhagen Meeting"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 1 Jul (BTA)—For the first time the countries participating in the all-European process had the possibility of reaching agreement on a number of problems related to human rights, the leader of the Bulgarian delegation to the CSCE Human Rights Conference in Copenhagen, Ambassador Ivan Garvalov, said in an interview published in today's DUMA.

I am glad because in Copenhagen Bulgaria showed her new image of a country that has embarked on the road to democracy, the ambassador pointed out. All Bulgarian proposals were paid attention to not only during the debates, but they were reflected in the final document, he added.

Mr. Ivan Garvalov stressed that Bulgaria had developed the idea of banning tortures in detail. The Bulgarian delegation received serious support for this idea and a number of countries became co-authors of the respective proposal which was included in the final document. "This proves that the meeting was a success for Bulgaria", the ambassador underlined.

"On accepting the document I had to make an explanatory statement, because we are living in a very interesting period. The Grand National Assembly will begin its work on July 10 this year. I did not want to decide beforehand matters which are within the competence of the Grand National Assembly to decide, having in mind the sovereign will of the Bulgarian people," the ambassador said.

Federal Assembly Session Resumes 3 Jul

LD0307093390 Prague CTK in English 0853 GMT 3 Jul 90

[Text] Prague June 3 (CTK)—Deputies to the Czechoslovak parliament, who resumed after a three-day interval their session here today, will hear a program statement of the Czechoslovak Government, which will be presented by Czechoslovak Prime Minister Marian Calfa.

The session of the Czechoslovak parliament opened on June 29. Originally it was expected to last one day. On June 29, Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel and Prime Minister Marian Calfa were to acquaint the deputies of the supreme Czechoslovak legislative body with a government program statement. The new Czechoslovak Government did not have, however, time enough to prepare the statement by June 29 and the deputies therefore interrupted their session after the speech by President Havel.

A debate of deputies to the Czechoslovak parliament on the government statement will take place in parliamentary committees on July 4 and at a plenary session on July 10.

The new Czechoslovak Government was named on June 29. A decisive role in its forming was played by Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel and the Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence movements, which won the parliamentary elections. In the new 16-member federal government, there are four representatives of the Civic Forum, three of the Public Against Violence, one of the Slovak Christian- Democratic Movement and eight members are without political affiliation.

Presidential Ministerial Appointments Notification

LD0307100890 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0809 GMT 3 Jul 90

["CSFR president's notification to the Federal Assembly on ministerial appointments," read by unidentified Federal Assembly chairman in Prague—live]

[Text] The President of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic sent the following notification to the CSFR Federal Assembly Presidium on 29 June 1990:

I inform you that in accordance with Article 61, paragraph 1B of the Constitutional Law of the Czechoslovak Federation, I have entrusted the following with the adoption of new constitutional laws:

Vladimir Dlouhy to be temporarily in charge of the Federal Ministry of Metallurgy, Machine Building and Electrical Engineering, the Federal Ministry of Fuel and Energy, and the Federal Ministry of Agriculture and Food;

Pavel Hoffman to be in charge temporarily of the State Planning Commission;

Josef Vavrousek to be in charge temporarly of the State Commission for Scientific, Technical and Investment Development;

Vaclav Klaus to be in charge temporarily of the Federal Price Office;

Kvetoslava Korinkova to be in charge temporarily of the CSFR Committee of the People's Control.

Signed: Vaclav Havel, president of the Republic.

Federal Assembly Presidium Members Listed

AU0107162790 Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech 28 Jun 90 pp 1,4

["vrz"-signed report: "Prologue to Parliamentary Discussions"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Members of the Federal Assembly Presidium [elected at the constituent meeting of the Federal Assembly in Prague on 27 June]:

Members of the Federal Assembly Presidium for the People's Chamber

Boleslav Barta (Movement for Autonomous Democracy—Society for Moravia and Silesia); Rudolf Battek (Civic Forum) [OF]; Michal Bencik (Communist Party of Czechoslovakia) [CPCZ]; Vaclav Benda (Christian and Democratic Union) [KDU]; Albert Cerny (OF); Karol Honner (Public Against Violence movement) [VPN]; Jaroslav Jeneral (CPCZ); Zdenek Kessler (OF); Valtr Komarek (OF); Petr Kucera (OF); Vasil Mohorita (CPCZ); Dana Nemcova (OF); Ivan Rynda (OF); Ferenc Szocz (Coexistence—Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement); Richard Sacher (KDU); Venek Silhan (OF); Ivan Simko (Christian Democratic Movement) [KDH]; Ernest Valko (VPN); Marian Vrabec (Slovak National Party).

Members of the Federal Assembly Presidium for the Chamber of Nations

Deputies elected in the Czech Republic: Zdenek Jicinsky (OF); Jan Sokol (OF); Vladimir Mikule (OF); Ladislav Lis (OF); Milos Zeman (OF); Karol Stome (OF); Jan Solc (OF); Jan Stern (OF); Josef Pernica (CPCZ); Bohumil Tichy (Movement for Autonomous Democracy—Society for Moravia and Silesia).

Deputies elected in the Slovak Republic: Alexander Dubcek (VPN); Milan Sutovec (VPN); Hviezdon Koctuch (VPN); Marian Posluch (VPN); Pavol Kanis (CPCZ); Jozef Stank (CPCZ); Jan Voscek (KDH); Konstantin Viktorin (KDH); Miklos Duray (Coexistence—Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement).

Parliamentary Chambers Leadership Listed

AU0107162490 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 28 Jun 90 p 1

["pat"-signed report: "Parliamentary Jobs Filled; From the Constituent Meetings of the People's Chamber and the Chamber of Nations"]

[Excerpts] Prague—Federal Assembly deputies elected chairmen and other leading officials of the People's Chamber and the Chamber of Nations at the two chambers' constituent meetings yesterday. First, at separate meetings of the chambers, they took the oath prescribed by the Constitution. [passage omitted] The People's Chamber elected Rudolf Battek (Civic Forum) [OF] as its chairman; Ernest Valko (Public Against Violence movement) [VPN] as deputy chairman; and Milan Cic (VPN), Zdenek Kessler (OF), Valtr Komarek (OF), and Michal Borgula (Communist Party of Czechoslovakia) [CPCZ] as members of the People's Chamber Presidium. The Chamber of Nations elected Milan Sutovec (VPN) as its chairman; Jan Sokol (OF) became deputy chairman; and Jan Hornik (Christian Democratic Movement) [KDH], Vladimir Mikule (OF), Pavol Suchan (VPN), and Milos Zeman (OF) became members of the Chamber of Nations Presidium.

The election of the chairmen of parliamentary committees had the following outcome: Zdenek Kessler became chairman of the People's Chamber Mandate and Immunity Committee; Jan Hornik, chairman of the Chamber of Nations Mandate and Immunity Committee; Milan Cic, chairman of the People's Chamber Constitutional and Legal Affairs Committee; Vladimir Mikule, chairman of the Chamber of Nations Constitutional and Legal Affairs Committee; Valtr Komarek, chairman of the People's Chamber Foreign Affairs Committee; Pavol Suchan, chairman of the Chamber of Nations Foreign Affairs Committee; Michal Borgula, chairman of the People's Chamber Planning and Budget Committee; Milos Zeman, chairman of the Chamber of Nations Planning and Budget Committee; Ivan Simko (KDH), chairman of the People's Chamber Defense and Security Committee; Ladislav Lis (OF), chairman of the Chamber of Nations Defense and Security Committee; Rudolf Zukal, chairman of the People's Chamber Economic Committee; Miroslav Tahy (KDH), chairman of the Chamber of Nations Economic Committee; Ivan Laluha (VPN), chairman of the People's Chamber Social Affairs and Culture Committee; Alena Ovcacikova (Society for Moravia and Silesia), chairwoman of the Chamber of Nations Social Affairs and Culture Committee; Ivan Rynda (OF), chairman of the People's Chamber Committee for the Environment; and Jozef Stank (CPCZ), chairman of the Chamber of Nations Committee for the Environment. The composition of the committees and their chairmen corresponds to the composition of parliament at large, i.e., to the results of the recent elections. The two chambers then elected their representatives in the Federal Assembly Presidium.

Because the proceedings in the two chambers took an unexpectedly long time, the joint meeting of the two chambers started only after 1800. Alexander Dubcek (VPN) was reelected chairman of the Federal Assembly.

Parliamentary seats were won in the elections also by personalities who have been appointed members of governments. Will they give up their seats in parliament? The law does not compel them to do so but, as OF representative Deputy Petr Kucera told us yesterday: "The Council of the OF Coordinating Center is of the opinion that ministers ought to give up their mandates as deputies. This issue will be discussed by the OF Assembly on Saturday [30 June] and only then will our ministers get, or will not get, the recommendation to give up their mandates. However, the final decision depends on them." It is possible that different parties and movements will proceed differently. [passage omitted]

After the election of Alexander Dubcek, a tug-of-war ensued concerning the number of Federal Assembly deputy chairmen. [passage omitted] In the end Zdenek Jicinsky became first deputy chairman. There are four deputy chairmen: Rudolf Battek and Milan Sutovec, chairmen of the two chambers, as well as Konstantin Viktorin (KDH) and Jozef Stank (CPCZ). [passage omitted]

Havel on Presidential Candidacy

LD2906144390 Prague CTK in English 1351 GMT 29 Jun 90

[Text] Prague June 29 (CTK)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel told CTK today that he will decide about his possible presidential candidature as soon as he knows the results of the Federal Assembly's chairman talks with representatives of all the parties represented in the parliament, as soon as he knows that the parliament really trusts him and regards him as the most suitable candidate.

The new Czechoslovak president will be elected on July 5.

As regards the future state set-up of Czechoslovakia, Vaclav Havel said that any change in the present situation would have to be approved by the population of Czechoslovakia. He himself does not think that Czechoslovakia should leave the federative principle to the benefit of the confederative one.

The president voiced the view that Czechoslovakia will be busy enough with building a really authentic federation and that this will be enough for the next two years at least. (The new parliament was elected for a period of two years, and also the turn of duty of the new president will be only two years, against usual five years.)

Asked whether his concrete notions of the structure of future Czechoslovak representative bodies as he outlined them in his speech delivered at the new parliament's session earlier today will not bind the hands of the new supreme legislative body, Vaclav Havel said that the freely elected parliaments (Federal, Czech and Slovak) are free and can do what they want.

Asked to comment on possible reservations of some people about the work of former Czech Prosecutor General Pavel Rychetskiy (appointed to the new Czechoslovak government as deputy premier) about which he spoke in his parliamentary speech, Vaclav Havel said he himself has no reservations. If somebody does have reservations, he does him injustice, I think, the president added.

Calfa on New Government Formation

AU0207160590 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 29 Jun 90 pp 1, 2

[Interview with CSFR Premier Marian Calfa by Nada Adamickova in the Federal Assembly building; date not given: "M. Calfa Interviewed by RUDE PRAVO"]

[Text] [Adamickova] What were the criteria for forming the new Federal Government and what are your views on the absence of communists in it?

[Calfa] This is relatively easy to answer. The Civic Forum [OF] and the Public Against Violence movement [VPN] won the elections. These movements stated, even before the elections, whom they would not cooperate with and whom they would not form a coalition with—i.e., with the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and with the Slovak National Party. Certain limitations have been set, even at the price of losing some skilled people. Another situation that had to be resolved arose when some political forces declared that they did not want to participate in the government, as for instance, the Christian Democratic Movement in Slovakia and later the Czechoslovak People's Party. We negotiated with both partners for a long time and finally succeeded in explaining to them the reasons why the participation of the Christians in the government is necessary. Others were not interested in the government's work because either they did not have suitable people for this or because this would not correspond to their policy. Based on these facts an idea of how the next government would look was formed. The government will be composed of representatives from the OF, the VPN, and the Christians.

[Adamickova] In one of your interviews you stated that our country is not so rich that it could get rid of specialists only because they are affiliated with a certain party. Were you also governed by this tenet during the formation of the government?

[Calfa] I said this on purpose. As far as the Federal Government is concerned, the tenet that it would be composed of the representatives of the three aforementioned parties was generally adopted. Yet, as far as the lower functions are concerned, that is, starting with the deputy minister, there is absolutely no political barrier. A barrier can only be ability, or rather inability. It is completely irrelevant if the deputy is a communist, a People's Party member, a socialist, or a social democrat—even if they are not in parliament. We have followed up on the principles that true specialists must be installed in these functions. Of course, the political profile is also taken into account, as well as personal characteristics and in what areas he has been active so far. Party or movement membership alone should not be a reason to say he would be unable to perform his function.

Calfa on Creating Reform Conditions

AU0207183890 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 29 Jun 90 p 1

[CTK report: "Conditions for the Next Generation"]

[Text] "It is not possible to carry out economic reform by government decree," said Marian Calfa, among other things, in an interview with a CTK reporter after the new Federal Government had been appointed. "This undoubtedly has to be a specific process involving the preparation of materials, expert assessments, economic analyses, and—obviously—discussion in certain Federal Assembly committees, in republican institutions, and in trade union organs. Then the government should make its decisions. The method of work should be as follows: In the first stage, the government will adopt a proposal for a specific reform step, it will let this process run its course, and then it will make a definitive decision."

In reply to a question on whether this will protract the reform preparation period, the premier said: "This is a strategy which, in fact, will create conditions not for us, but for the next generation. As we are preparing a strategy that, to date, has no parallel in the world, then a couple of months probably does not matter. We should make sure that we have this process constantly under our control, but also that people can tolerate it. Reform is only possible when people agree with it and implement it. It is impossible to implement reforms in such a way that the government announces something and then has a contingent of objectors and strikers lined up against it. From an objective point of view, it is clear what has to be done—find the correct order for the strategy's steps and their correct pace."

As far as foreign policy is concerned, M. Calfa stated that we consider everyone to be a good neighbor and a good friend as long as we are not convinced of the opposite. So far, we have had success with this philosophy. We want to have good relations with the Soviet Union and a united Germany; we also want to have the same good relations with Israel as with the Arab states.

Calfa on His Past, Government Affairs

AU2906194790 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 22 Jun 90 pp 1, 3

[Interview with CSFR Premier Marian Calfa by Jaroslav Veis in Prague; date not given: "I Have My Own

Conception of the Future"; first two paragraphs are LIDOVE NOVINY introduction]

[Text] Federal Premier Marian Calfa is the only government member who also held a government post prior to 17 November in the cabinet of Premier Adamec. Hence, his position is quite exceptional and, considering the fact that he remains in the office of the head of the government even now, it is also an exceedingly sensitive position.

Therefore, we asked him for an interview. An excerpt on the composition of the new government was published on Monday. Today we carry the remaining part.

[Veis] Mr. Calfa, your name appears on some documents of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee Presidium dating back to last year. What can you say about it?

[Calfa] Undoubtedly, my name will appear not only on last year's documents but also on the documents from a year earlier, actually, from the time when I joined the government. I do not see anything unusual in that. Why? The then existing mechanism of power inferred that all the more important issues be decided by the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium. When it concluded that certain decision should be embodied in the law, the job was given to the government member responsible for legislation. Since April 1988 that has been me. Decisions by the Presidium were authoritative, and even a person holding a ministerial post was informed of the task only when it was presented to him. It had not been customary to ask him beforehand what he thought. Thinking was reserved for members of the Presidium.

[Veis] Did you ever take part in a meeting of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium?

[Calfa] For that, a minister, moreover, the youngest minister, was not important enough. The Presidium summoned ministers only when it decided that they were to take part in the deliberation on certain issues. One found out about it a day or two beforehand. Then one had to wait by the phone in one's office, until one was summoned. Recently, since 1989, I have taken part in the meetings of the Presidium more frequently. It was in connection with the drafting of a new Constitution then being prepared. At that time, I also gained some experience in the operation of the Presidium. During the session, members were seated around the table, where each of them had his permanent seat, and the general secretary sat at its head. The others [nonmembers] were allowed to sit at the far end of the table. Except for the Presidium members, those present could talk only when asked to. In this company, it was not conceivable for one to speak out at his own initiative. Occasionally, this would happen, and the person was put in his place with all due vehemence. When asked, one was permitted to express his own opinion. That was allowed. It did not, however, influence the Presidium's decision.

[Veis] How did the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium actually make its decisions?

[Calfa] Usually, the issue would be discussed for a while. These were quite unbelievable discussions, often saturated with unqualified opinions, and once in a while, having returned from a session, one really needed a stiff drink in order to recover. When the sessions took a long time and they could not agree, the general secretary would either withdraw the issue from the agenda or—when he was interested in settling the question—he decided authoritatively himself. The same method was used in assigning work to any official.

[Veis] How did you, so young for that time, get into the government?

[Calfa] It was Strougal who noticed me when I worked in the Office of the Government Presidium. It was a bit of a coincidence. I worked as a secretary to the Legislative Council and this was the area for which Academician Laco was responsible in the government. He was already old and he obviously could not cope with his work. So, Strougal raised me to that post, and I remained in that office when he himself was replaced by Adamec. The latter distrusted me for a long time; apparently because I was too young.

[Veis] Did you ever meet, at that time, any of the people who were members of structures denoted as illegal?

[Calfa] Where could I possibly meet them? One does not bump into a dissident at the Office of the Government Presidium. I simply frequented different places than they did. On the other hand, they did not know me either. Once we had a long conversation about these matters with the president and with Jirka Dienstbier. Actually, the fact that they did not know me turned out to be positive for me because it meant I did not belong to the people who were harming Czechoslovak culture, people, and society. I was and am a person who managed to come to terms with the new spectrum of politicians and agree with them on a common goal.

[Veis] It is quite possible that somebody will object that you might have had something in common with State Security. Did the State Security people ever attempt to acquire your collaboration?

[Calfa] I was probably lucky, but never. Perhaps, my being an open and talkative man caused this; I am simply not the type. Moreover, I think that I worked in a sphere in which Security collaborators were not sought. Everything I dealt with went directly to the desks of those whom the State Security served and the State Security had no interest in the state structures; it knew them well. In short, I could not be of use to them. Besides, like all candidates for the post of deputy, I underwent the vetting process.

[Veis] Vetting.... A very topical theme right now; it is acute, alarming, obfuscated, disturbing, and it frustrates political negotiations. What do you think about it as the premier?

[Calfa] From the very beginning I have believed that it is an extremely complex problem which can cause a great quandary. Nevertheless, the political parties in parliament demanded the vetting of candidates for the post of deputy, so Minister Sacher requested the government's approval for the Interior Ministry to supply the data acquired in the screening process. Nonetheless, he immediately drew attention to the problems which could possibly result from the vetting. He even gave a hypothetical example: For instance, State Security, i.e., counterespionage, contacts an engineer in a factory producing world class explosives and asks him to pledge that he will collaborate with them in the protection of an economic secret. When the explosive was new, it was something of interest to many people, even abroad, and it sounded logical that all who were involved in its production should protect this secret. When the person agreed to protect this product, he was also acknowledging that he was a collaborator of State Security. Who knows how the two of us would act, perhaps I, too, would sign. For one could get the impression that he was thereby protecting something for Czechoslovakia, that he was serving a good cause, and not that he was entering the service of the State Security. What to do about it then? Furthermore, the police could really file in there whatever they wanted; the files were still being handled long after November, so they could disappear or be modified....

[Veis] And then the unfortunate Bartoncik case came along.

[Calfa] According to my judgment, in a certain way it influenced the election results. That is how life is, once you are the chairman of a political party, people will judge not only you but the party as well. We should have been able to avoid that.

[Veis] Minister Sacher did not, however, manage to contribute by his actions to the calming down of the situation. Do you think that the possibility can be excluded that, as regards the Bartoncik case, Sacher was motivated purely by his concern lest the vetting afflict an innocent person, or do you think that he could have looked after the interests of the party of which he is a member, even, as is rumored, of people close to him?

[Calfa] In the last "Conversations From Lany" [A weekly radio series of interviews with the president] the president uttered a beautiful sentence. He said that he, himself, [Presidential Adviser] Jiri Krizan, and one other person, the Lord, were present at the meeting with Mr. Bartoncik.

[Veis] That is, the conscience of all three participants.

[Calfa] Yes, I, personally, because I know Mr. president and his standard of moral values, believe what he said about the meeting. The question is who can see into the conscience of Minister Sacher.

[Veis] God....

[Calfa] In any case, nobody can suspect us of purposely wanting to attack Minister Sacher. At the first confrontation in parliament the president and I expressed our trust in him. It was two o'clock in the morning then as I took the floor in parliament to present this view. You know, Mr. Sacher has a disadvantage in being member of a political party. This way he cannot ever avoid being suspected of not acting impartially but, rather, in the interest of the party, no matter how pure and ethical his intentions are. Therefore, as a matter of principle, the interior minister should not be a party member—whatever the Christian Democrats, People's Party members, or members of other parties may think.

[Veis] Tuesday's MLADA FRONTA carried an interview with Minister Sacher in which he claimed that you had been informed in advance about the vetting of Mr. Lis, chairman of the parliamentary Defense and Security Committee, who was described by TASS as a CIA agent. Of course, the TASS claim was denied the next day with an apology. Hence, the screening appears to be a strange proceeding. What do you think?

[Calfa] I was informed that it had been conducted, not that the vetting of Mr. Lis was to commence, and that the information about his collaboration with the CIA was being verified. That was all. On Monday, however, I found out from Minister Sacher that after the denial the vetting was terminated.

[Veis] We learned that on 24 April, Minister Sacher called an extraordinary meeting of the government at which he proposed a declaration of a state of emergency whereby his deputy, Mr. Samel, would be entrusted with the "command" over the entire state. Is it true, and if so, can one qualify such impetus as unbiased and impartial conduct?

[Calfa] The government has already twice been presented with extraordinarily alarming material and a proposal to take extremely serious security measures. In both cases the government rejected the proposed recommendations and described them as incompetent.

[Veis] Your new government takes over in a situation which, from the point of view of political stability, is very fragile. The coalitions are quite different than expected, nationalist movements toying with separatist trends are gaining strength, it is necessary to finally open the economic issues and tighten the proverbial belts, many a person shivers at the prospect of being vetted, formerly latent indications of racism come to life, sometimes it seems that fears of the future dominate over hopes. What are your inner feelings like in this situation? Are they fragile also?

[Calfa] I have my own conception of the future and I, in cooperation with my colleagues in the government, will do everything to bring it off. It would be an illusion to believe that what we have just experienced was a typical democratic election. None of the traditional political parties asserted themselves. Instead, political movements which basically are not clear cut and do not have any integrating program came out the victors. That is very atypical for the democratic world. Why is it that precisely in our country the parties with complete structures, secretariats, printing shops, and dailies had so disappointing results? Why is it that precisely I, in east Slovakia where I was on the list of candidates for the Public Against Violence movement, gained such an absolute majority? It certainly was not because the voters were deciding on the basis of my political expertise. They know me, I come from there; that was important. You know, I think that in two years, at the time of the next elections, everything will be different. I believe that the political parties will come prepared with alternative programs and with people with track records who will prepare themselves for the top posts in the shadow cabinet. Now we only know that a particular party will receive a certain seat in the coalition—but not who the person is it will put in this seat, and especially, what this person's abilities are. Sometimes, I think that perhaps the search for capable people may be more important than the competition of political parties. Namely, we are not, and for a long time will not be, in the situation in which we could squander away able and at the same time decent people only because their political beliefs are not to our taste.

Poll Compares Republics' Political, Economic Views

AU0107155790 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 28 Jun 90 p 4

[Marek Boguszak and Vladimir Rak report: "Together, but Each in its Own Way?"]

[Text] The election results in both national republics merely underscore the existing dissimilarity between the two entities. The table below illustrates substantial differences in opinion between citizens in Bohemia and Moravia and citizens in Slovakia.

Table: A comparison of selected points of view in the Czech and Slovak Republics [CR and SR]. All figures are given in percentages.

	CR	SR
1. Satisfaction with the current political situation	70	58
2. Vaclav Havel should be president for another term	89	73
3. National governments rather than the federal government should formulate and be responsible for the substantial changes in the political and economic spheres	36	47
4. It is impossible to introduce fundamental economic reform without the temporary, albeit palpable, worsening of our standard of living and of the general economic situation	75	61
5. We should avoid unemployment even at the cost of significantly restraining or even suspending economic reform	19	34
6. The selection of a harsher and more accelerated version of tightening our belts	61	51
7. Willingness to accede to 50-percent price increases in essential goods	53	39
8. A willingness to accept the loss of current employment	48	37
9. A willingness to accept the introduction of economic agreements	61	47
10. Fears about a decline in the standard of living	60	70
11. Fears that our economic situation will turn out as badly as it has in Poland	19	33
12. A strike following a considerable increase in the cost of essential goods	37	50
13. The state should bear complete responsibility for finding employment for every citizen	32	47
14. The state should bear complete responsibility for ensuring a decent standard of living for each citizen	34	46

The Slovak public has a great deal more reservations about economic reform than people in the Czech Republic. Anxiety about its consequences is higher in Slovakia than in Bohemia and Moravia. People in Slovakia are less willing to economize in the interest of the success of fundamental economic changes and a better future; there are fewer supporters of harsher and more accelerated reform variants among them. To a greater extent than in Bohemia and Moravia, Slovak citizens demand that the state should look after its citizens as much as possible; they are more prepared to defend their point of view by taking strike action. In Slovakia there is also a considerably higher proportion of people who feel that the national governments rather than the federal government should formulate and be responsible for the fundamental changes in the economic and political spheres (cf. the Slovak National Party's electoral success).

The issue is, obviously, to what extent the changes should take place concurrently in both republics, but the idea of a convertible Slovak koruna and a nonconvertible Czech one (or the other way around) seems to be rather absurd. A fundamental problem thus surfaces from the reform policy point of view. The public's reaction to the depth and pace of reform—to its individual steps—will, obviously, differ considerably in both national republics. For one republic it will not be emphatic and liberal enough, for the other it will be, on the contrary, far too emphatic. Not taking these variances into consideration means an intolerable increase in the risk that a wave of social unrest will seriously disrupt the course of reform or will even "knock it out" completely. A nonparallel reform policy could, on the other hand, sow the seeds of the feeling of injustice and heighten tension between the two republics, to say nothing of the tendency toward the increased interrepublican migration of those who believe that they would be better off in the other republic.

From the point of view of these considerations, it is essential to regard the recent elections as free ones. The differences in the results in the Czech and Slovak Republics clearly correspond to the disparate nature of the points of view of their citizens; people voted in accordance with their anxieties and desires. Nevertheless, a majority of citizens throughout the country (60 percent) desire that the federal government should be the competent and responsible organ to steer us through the rocks of the upcoming and excessively difficult economic stratagem, that is, they are in favor of a joint course of action. A further burden results from this for the victorious political forces: drafting and implementing a strategy that will absolutely seriously take into question the existing differences. This should be borne in mind when strong government coalitions are being formed.

Pithart: New Czech Government Composed of Experts

LD2906150390 Prague CTK in English 1315 GMT 29 Jun 90

[Text] Prague June 29 (CTK)—The new Czech government is one of experts, while it reflects the results of the June 8-9 parliamentary elections, Premier Petr Pithart told CTK here today.

He noted that the government has more members than the previous one. The number of deputy chairmen was cut by one. A minister will ensure liaison between the Czech and federal governments. Newly created were two ministries - of engineering, and of labour and social affairs.

As from now, members of the Czech goverment will not vote at sessions of the Czechoslovak government, but they should actively present and defend the national governments' stands, Petr Pithart said.

He stressed that the Czech government wants to continue developing relations with the Slovak government.

Listing the Czech government's nearest tasks, Petr Pithart said they include mainly practical realization of the economic reform, and fundamental restructuring of local representatives bodies and also of the state administration.

CTK Runs Pithart Biography

LD2906143190 Prague CTK in English 1322 GMT 29 Jun 90

[Text] Prague June 29 (CTK)—The following is biography of new Czech Premier Petr Pithart appointed here today.

Petr Pithart, without political affiliation, was born in Kladno, Central Bohemnia, on January 2, 1941. He studied at the faculty of law at Prague Charles University. In 1969 he attended a postgraduate course in England.

At the end of the 1960's he became an editor of LITERARNI LISTY and LISTY. Until 1970 he worked as a lawyer. From 1962 he lectured at the Faculty of Law of Charles University and was secretary of the interdisciplinary team of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences in 196-68 which dealt with the political system of Czechoslovak society.

For his reform stands in 1968-69 Petr Pithart was persecuted after 1969. Until 1989 he worked manually, as an enterprise lawyer and in a library. In 1977 he signed the Charter 77 document.

Petr Pithart published political scientific and historical studies in the samizdat and exile magazines, for example "THE SIXTY EIGHTH".

From December 1989 to February 1990 he worked in the coordinating center of the Civic Forum. From February 6, 1990 he was Czech premier and deputy premier of the Czechoslovak Government. From February 9, 1990 he was a member of the State Defence Council and fromn April 10 chairman of the Council of Defence of the Czech Republic. From January 30 to June 9, 1990 he was deputy to the House of Nations of the Federal Assembly.

In 1960-68 Petr Pithart was member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. He has been elected deputy to the Czech National Council.

More on First Slovak Parliament Session

AU2906121190

[Editorial Report] Slovak newspapers of 27 June all publish reports on the constituent session of the Slovak National Council (SNR), which was held in Bratislava on 26 June.

Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 27 June on pages 1 and 2 carries an 800-word Alena Melicharkova, Magdalena Sedlackova report entitled "Frantisek Miklosko Elected SNR Chairman." Besides naming the newly elected SNR chairman, first deputy chairman, and four deputy chairmen, the NARODNA OBRODA report also lists the 11 SNR committees which the constituent SNR session decided to set up. They are: Mandate and Immunity Committee; Constitutional and Legal Affairs Committee; National Economic and Budget Committee; Committee for Trade and Services; Committee for State Administration and Territorial Self-Administration; Committee for Nationalities, Ethnic Groups, and Human Rights; Defense and Security Committee; Committee for the Environment and Nature Conservation; Committee for Social Policy, Health Care, and Social Relations; Committee for Education, Science, Culture, and Sports; and Foreign Affairs Committee. According to the NARODNA OBRODA report, the session also determined that the SNR would be headed by a 21-member SNR Presidium. Nine members of the Presidium are Public Against Violence deputies, six are deputies for the Christian Democratic Movement, two for the Democratic Party, and one each for the Green Party, the Coexistence movement, and the Slovak National Party. The 21st position remains to be filled.

The NARODNA OBRODA report mentions, furthermore, that two deputies elected to the SNR in the June elections have given up their mandates—Elena Majtanova (Slovak National Party) and Sona Szomolanyiova (Public Against Violence movement).

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 27 June on page 2 carries a 600- word statement by the Club of Communist Party Deputies to the SNR dealing with the composition of the leading SNR bodies elected at the 26 June session. The statement criticizes the fact that the composition of the SNR Presidium does not correspond to that of the SNR at large. The parties making up the Slovak government coalition (Public Against Violence movement, Christian Democratic Movement, and Democratic Party) have 86 of the 150 seats in the SNR. Yet the 21-member SNR Presidium (made up of the SNR chairman, SNR first deputy chairman, four SNR deputy chairmen, 11 SNR committee chairmen, and 4 other SNR members) includes only three opposition members. The statement qualifies the coalition parties' decision on the composition of the SNR leading bodies as an expression of their "lack of political will to give the opposition parties room in the council's leading bodies as is usual in advanced democracies" and states that these parties "will have to bear full responsibility for the political consequences of this decision."

Slovak National Party Rejects Right-Wing Label

AU2906141690 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 28 Jun 90 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Statement by the Slovak National Party"]

[Text] The leadership of the Slovak National Party [SNS] resolutely protests against the SNS being labeled a right-wing party. The SNS is primarily a party of the political center and the fact that the bulk of our voters comes from the ranks of skilled workers and the creative intelligentsia precludes our running on a right-wing platform.

Comparison of New Slovak Government Listing

AU2906120390

Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 28 June, on pages 1 and 2, carries a 750-word CTK, Alena Melicharkova report on the appointment of a new Slovak Republic Government on 27 June. The NARODNA OBRODA list of government members has been compared with the Prague CTK version published in the 28 June East Europe DAILY REPORT, page 20, revealing the following variations:

Column one, paragraph four of item, only sentence to paragraph five, only sentence reads: ...(PAV) deputy premier Vladimir Ondrus (PAV), deputy...(changing "Vaclav" to "Vladimir");

Same column, paragraph eight, only sentence to paragraph nine, only sentence reads: ...Economy Ministry Jozef Dubnicek, Democratic Party (DP)...(providing press version of minister's name)

Same column, paragraph nine, only sentence to paragraph ten, only sentence reads: ...Construction Ministry Michal Dzatko (CDM), minister in...(providing press version of minister's name);

Column two, paragraph two, only sentence to paragraph three, only sentence reads: Prices and Wages Ministry Stanislav Novak (DP), minister...(changing "Industry" to "Ministry"; providing press spelling of "Stanislav");

Same column, paragraph three, only sentence to paragraph four, only sentence reads: ...Affairs Ministry Viliam Oberhauser (Christian Democratic Movement), minister in charge...(changing Oberhauser's party affiliation.)

Agriculture Official Addresses Civic Forum Assembly

LD3006213790 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1330 GMT 30 Jun 90

[Text] An assembly of the Civic Forum Coordinating Center convened today in the Prague City National Committee building. Among the items on the agenda are a new organizational structure for the Civic Forum, which should be finalized by the end of July, preparations for the campaign in the run-up to the local elections, and Civic Forum's main political objectives for the immediate future. Petr Kucera said that the priority in this sphere was to maintain the federation on a basis of equal relations, and the government's support in pushing through unpopular measures that are vital steps toward economic reform.

Bohumil Kubat, Czech minister of agriculture and food, addressed the assembly as a guest. He called for the Civic Forum representatives' cooperation in improving the cultural and economic conditions in agriculture and rural areas, where ingrained stereotypes have prevailed for many years, and old structures [struktury] were still in place in top posts.

He spoke about the possibilities of raising the standard of living in the countryside by supporting the development of traditional crafts, the farming cooperatives, and untapped tourism and travel possibilities. Asked whether the state farms were going to be abolished, he replied that it always depends on the people. Where the units are thriving, there is no reason to close them down. In the opposite case, however, Bohumil Kubat said, there is no point in carrying on the enterprise in that way.

[Prague CTK in English at 1744 GMT on 30 June transmits a similar report on the Civic Forum Assembly. The CTK reports adds the following:

"Some participants in the Civic Forum [CF] Assembly criticized the Prague CF Coordinating Centre for pursuing closed-door policies, and pointed out the need for the CF to be guided by democratic principles. Delegates Daniel Kroupa said the Czechoslovak Communist Party went astray to plunge into totalitarianism just because its inner structure was undemocratic. An extensive debate developed on the future structure of the Civic Forum movement which does not want to become a political party but continue having features of a movement free of all ideology."]

Coalition Formation Explained to Civic Forum

LD3006214790 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1500 GMT 30 Jun 90

[Text] The main political goals in the near future and the evaluation of the future structure of Civic Forum [OF] were on the agenda of this movement's Assembly. First, Petr Kucera, representative of the OF coordination center, explained the procedure used by OF representatives in establishing the coalition governments. He described talks with Public Against Violence [VPN] and the Slovak Christian Democratic Movement, KDH, as constructive, and contrary to expectation there was also good cooperation with President Vaclav Havel and Premier Marian Calfa. After some discussion, OF accepted the president's decision that Marian Calfa should once again become premier, for, as Petr Kucera said, it did not wish to cause a dispute with the castle.

He went on to say that despite sharp criticism of character traits, Vaclav Kraus, who is a conscientious expert, became minister of finance. He was asked, however, to change his behavior toward colleagues, to be more willing to cooperate, and to respect binding decisions. However, Petr Kucera described the preservation of the federation, while strengthening the identity and equality of both national republics, as a political priority.

Civic Forum Assembly Discusses Future Structure

LD3006220190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1900 GMT 30 Jun 90

[Text] The Civic Forum [OF] Assembly discussed in Prague today political goals in the immediate future and evaluated the future structure of the Forum. It emerged from extensive discussion that OF does not wish to become a political party but wishes to continue to bear the characteristics of a nonideological movement. OF clubs, village, and district collegia will be set up, made up of the political representation of OF in a given area.

The delegates pointed out that the former communist structures are transferring the focus of their interest from politics to the economy. They also strongly criticized OF representatives in the Federal Assembly because they allowed a communist, Jozef Stank, to be elected as one of the deputy chairmen of Parliament.

Freedom Party Leadership Resigns

LD3006191690 Prague CTK in English 1654 GMT 30 Jun 90

[Text] Bratislava June 30 (CTK)—All members of the Presidium and Secretariat of the Slovak Freedom Party resigned today, in connection with the party's failure in the June 8-9 parliamentary elections.

At a session of the party Central Committee in Banska Bystrica, central Slovakia, party Chairman Jozef Sirotnak reviewed the results of the elections in the individual regions, stressing that the party's failure in them brought it into a situation which must be solved immediately.

The session elected an interim five-man leadership, until further directions of the party's activities are decided at a congress to be convened within 90 days at the latest.

The Freedom Party was founded on April 1, 1946 from what had remained of the original Christian-Republican Party, founded on March 1, 1946.

Founding of Moravian, Silesian CP Proposed

AU0107161890

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 28 June on page 5 carries a 600-word interview with Frantisek Suchy, chairman of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia District Committee in Sumperk, North Moravia, by Vaclav Pergl entitled "Will There Be a Communist Party of Moravia and Silesia?" In the interview, Suchy expresses the view that "the time is ripe to ponder a new system of management in party work in individual territorial entities of the republic." The new organizational party structure should, in his opinion, anticipate the trend toward economic and administrative autonomy in Bohemia, Moravia, and Slovakia. This is why he recommends that "the founding of a Communist Party of Moravia and Silesia as an inseparable component of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia be considered at all levels [of the party]." Suchy concedes that the discussions on the founding of a Communist Party of Moravia and Silesia were prompted by the election results, particularly by the success of the Society for Moravia and Silesia. He denies, however, that these discussions "smack of separatism and nationalism"; rather, they are "a result of the objective reality of social processes." Suchy says that the Communist Party of Moravia and Silesia would "permit a flexible solution to regional social and political problems" and would not require any expansion of the party apparatus. In conclusion, Suchy mentions that the chairmen of Moravian and Silesian district party committees will come together "this weekend" to discuss the issue.

8,800 Unemployed Registered in Late May

AU2906144090 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 28 Jun 90 pp 1, 5

[Interview with Engineer Vaclav Broz, deputy director of the Department of Employment at the Federal Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, by Hana Labudova; place and date not given: "What Will Labor Offices Do?"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Labudova] How many unemployed are there in Czechoslovakia?

[Broz] Data from late May indicates that 8,800 citizens are looking for a job, only about 3,000 of whom have, however, applied for support payment. Regarding the composition of the unemployed, about one-half of them are technical and economic staff and the other half are laborers and workers in the services sector. At the same time, we have registered 60,000 to 70,000 job vacancies. In the second half of the year we expect the number of job seekers to increase, however, because organizational changes will result in a number of organizations. [passage omitted]

Prague Joint Stock Company Reopened

AU0207201590 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 29 Jun 90 p 8

[CTK report from the "From Home" column: "Investa Reopened"]

[Text] Prague—The Investa joint stock company has been reopened in Prague after seven years. It is involved with the import and export of machinery and equipment for the textile, knitwear, leather, tanning, and footwear industries and also provides other services in special commercial operation spheres such as leasing, capital interest, and in founding joint enterprises. Investa's founding capital amounts to 330 million korunas. The company has a total of 14 shareholders, the largest of which is the Finop special purpose foreign trade organization.

The reopened Investa company has been endowed with an important license agreement based on which the American Innovators company will provide us with a license to manufacture and further develop carding equipment. This product introduces completely new technology into the textile industry and was originally developed by NASA for space research. The agreement thus guarantees a new modern manufacturing program for Elitex Liberec, our largest textile equipment manufacturer.

Communist Party Greets CPSU Congress

LD0207164890 Prague CTK in English 1618 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Text] Prague July 2 (CTK)—"We greet you on behalf of a party turning from a state-like institution into a regular political party in the plurality system of parliamentary democracy in Czechoslovakia," a message of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee sent to the 28th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, which opened in Moscow today, said.

The message stressed that the Czechoslovak Communist Party has given up the monopoly of power and its privileged position in society. It added that the party did not have enough either internal strength or courageous personalities to face the expected and needful changes in society. Nevertheless, the communist party still has its role on the Czechoslovak political stage confirmed inter alia by the recent parliamentary elections in the country, the document said.

"We wish you the so much needed courage for completing the already started perestroyka and democratization of Soviet society. We are aware of the complexity of this path. But it is also in our interest that democratic socialism and the ideas of a humanitarian socialist society win", the Czechoslovak communists wrote.

Havel Notes Castro Response on Dissidents

LD0107143390

[Editorial Report] Prague Domestic Service in Czech at 1215 GMT on 1 July broadcasts the latest, 17-minute installment in the "Conversations in Lany" series of interviews with President Vaclav Havel. This interview was conducted by editor Nutz at the Old Town Hall in Prague on 30 June.

Nutz opens the interview by asking Havel to comment on the events of the past week: the appointment of the new federal government and Havel's address to the new Federal Assembly. Havel expresses his satisfaction with the composition of the new federal government, as well as with the governments of the Czech and Slovak Republics, and stresses the importance of his address to the Federal Assembly, which he considers a sort of a conclusion to this phase of his presidential office, which began with his New Year speech.

Asked what he likes to recall from the events of his first six months in office, Havel admits that he is a bit surprised by the number of events in which he participated during this period. He spent only one weekend in his cottage in Hradecek, but will go there again immediately after this interview. Havel goes on to recall what he used to do there and how much he enjoys staying there. He points out that it was not just his private hide-out, but also the place where Charter 77, as well as the Few Sentences appeal were formulated.

Nutz recalls Castro's militant answer to Havel's letter protesting against imprisonment of Cuban dissidents. Havel says there is no point in answering Castro's letter, as there is nothing to be added. He goes on to say: "In my view, Cuba, too, sooner or later will be affected in one form or another by what is historically inevitable, i.e., that the totalitarian systems of the communist type are at least being transformed into something else or disintegrating, that more democratic conditions are being formed. For instance, I am very glad that democracy peacefully won after all in Nicaragua." Havel recalls his congratulations to President Chamorro and expresses hope that sometime he will have an opportunity to meet her personally.

Havel points out that next week he has to decide if he will run for president, as on Thursday the Federal Assembly is to elect the future president. Asked about the future of "Conversations in Lany," he says he would like to resume them after a summer break, regardless of whether or not he is still president.

'Good Relations' Sought With All Countries

LD3006103990 Prague CTK in English 0824 GMT 30 Jun 90

[Text] Prague June 30 (CTK)—Czechoslovakia wants to maintain good relations with all countries but pursues certain principles, so that "countries which, for instance, have a similar approach to the issue of human rights will be closer to us". Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier said in an interview carried by the civic forum newspaper OBCANSKY DENIK on Saturday.

Referring to the Czechoslovak diplomats some of whom are not very representative, Jiri Dienstbier said the majority of Czechoslovak ambassadors have been recalled but there was still a shortage of competent, representative personalities. He said Czechoslovakia was only beginning to build a highly professional diplomatic service, to consist of people who can work in this service regardless of what government is in office, as it is in the case of the majority of civilized countries.

He stated that Czechoslovakia is only now getting down to genuine diplomacy. At the first stage it declared its effort to create common European legal, humanitarian and economic scope and started establishing new relations. "Now we shall have to put everything into practice, which involves everyday meticulous work without fireworks and celebrations. Most-favoured nation status from the Americans is a wonderful thing but will be no good to us if we have nothing to sell America". Minister Dienstbier said, adding that whenever Czechoslovakia wants to have some European institution based on its territory andn concrete talks take place, it is in the end a country where everything functions that succeeds.

Langos on Positive FRG Border Crossing Results

LD0107210790 Prague CTK in English 1905 GMT 1 Jul 90

[Text] Prague July 1 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Interior Minister Jan Langos said today that the opening of new border crossings was one of the positive results of the democratization process in Czechoslovakia.

Attending the opening of the Czechoslovak-FRG border crossing at Svaty Kriz-Waldsassen, in which also West German Interior Minister Wolfgang Schauble took part, Jan Langos recalled that life in the border regions under totalitarian rule resembled life on the periphery of society in many aspects and it was therefore a moral duty to enable citizens of both countries to move freely. Far greater attention should be paid to questions of their spiritual development, environmental protection, tourism etc. He said, stressing that Czechoslovakia is sincerely interested in promoting positive trends in Czechoslovak-West German relations.

Contractor Problems With Soviet Ore Project

AU0207155790 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 28 Jun 90 p 8

[CTK report: "Should Construction Be Suspended or Continued?"]

[Text] Moscow—Should Czechoslovakia suspend construction of its part of the ore dressing plant in the village of Dolinskaya near Krivoj Rog or should it continue? There has been a great deal of discussion about this issue for some time. The CSFR Government will make a final decision. The issue was also raised during a visit to the construction site by Rudolf Slansky, CSFR ambassador to the Soviet Union.

Czechoslovakia has a 13 percent stake, approximately 11.5 billion korunas, in the whole project. To date our contractors have completed the basic structure of the future ore dresser's 600-meter long hall, which will be the heart of the whole plant. They are also constructing 1,500 apartments, schools, kindergartens, health care facilities, and other buildings.

The plant should originally have been completed this year; however, the completion date was pushed back to 1992, and this date is also called into doubt. While the Soviet side was the main cause of the delay at first, the main reason now is a shortage of staff—the main contractor for the Czechoslovak part of the project, the Brno enterprise Stavex (formerly Brno Industrial Projects), has 2,600 fewer people than it needs.

Today the CSFR would probably not become involved in the construction of such a massive project. However, the fact is that seven to eight billion out of the 11.5 billion korunas have already been spent on the construction. If the project were to be suspended, this would have to be written off.

According to the original agreement, the Soviet Union will reimburse us for our participation in the project and our supply of equipment—the Prerov engineering works will supply the ore dresser. From pellets containing approximately 60 percent iron, Czechoslovakia should receive approximately one million tonnes of pure metal from ore processed in this way when the plant is in production; this should be for a period of eight to twelve years, depending on the world price for this raw material. The pellets will still contain a high percentage of impurities, especially silicon.

GERMAN UNIFICATION

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De Maiziere Terms Unification 'Irreversible'

AU0207083890 Hamburg DIE ZEIT in German 29 Jun 90 pp 3-5

[Interview with Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere by Robert Leicht, Theo Sommer, and Christian Wernicke; place and date not given: "The Process of Unification Is Irreversible"]

[Text] [DIE ZEIT] Money stood at the beginning of the division; now money also stands at the end of the division. Does this statement, which was made by Manfred Stolpe on 17 June, sufficiently describe the historic importance of what is going on now?

[De Maiziere] Certainly not. When he says "at the beginning," he means that this is a process, and in the further course of his speech, he also explained that many more things still have to grow together. Of course, 1 and 2 July is an important step, because I assume that this will make the process of unification irreversible.

[DIE ZEIT] You do not think that anything can still slow down or even stop this process?

[De Maiziere] "Slow down" and "stop" are still less than "irreversible."

[DIE ZEIT] To ask more pointedly: Do you see the danger of the process of German unity becoming endangered by crises in relations with others or even by crises to the east of Germany?

[De Maiziere] I think that the process of unification will make progress. It is a completely different question that there are still some stones to clear from the path. When I think of how many stones we have stepped over or cleared away during the past month, I believe that we have already made substantial progress.

[DIE ZEIT] Could developments occur in Moscow which would reverse the process or freeze it for a long time?

[De Maiziere] Difficult situations may arise in Moscow, but I think that during any further phase—simply against the background of the world's opinion that it is time for the Germans to be able to unite—there will not be any decisive brakers or reverses.

[DIE ZEIT] Are you satisfied with the course things have taken so far?

[De Maiziere] I think that one can be satisfied. I also considered it extremely important that the State Treaty and also the statement on Poland by both parliaments met with very great approval across the borders of the parliamentary groups. If one looks at the number of votes in the People's Chamber, there must also have been approval from the opposition.

[DIE ZEIT] Did not one have to be surprised that there was anyone at all who voted against the resolution on Poland in the People's Chamber?

[De Maiziere] I meant the State Treaty. The few votes against the resolution on Poland surprised me very much.

[DIE ZEIT] In your government statement, Mr. Prime Minister, you said that the assignment by the voters calls for the establishment of Germany's unity in an undivided, peaceful Europe. "This demand contains conditions concerning the speed and the quality."

[De Maiziere] When I spoke of demands concerning speed and quality, I took up what my party's Executive Committee had already said in January and February: We want unification as quickly as possible, but as well as necessary. By "as well as necessary" I understand that we either need a second or a brief state treaty and a longer transition law—how this is intended to be done in terms of laws must be left aside for the moment—with a description of the framework conditions, which make accession in line with Article 23 of the Basic Law possible.

Second, I think that we have to establish compatible structures before the establishment of unity, that the formation of the laender has to be completed, and that we must have diet elections. As a third large area I see the "two-plus-four" talks.

[DIE ZEIT] Is there still any alternative to unity and all-German elections at the end of the year?

[De Maiziere] These are the objective conditions that have to be observed. If at the same time, however, I say that there are possibilities, that one thing or the other cannot be done until then, there must be an alternative. A decoupling, for instance, of the internal aspects from the external aspects of German unity would cause the German process of unification to not promote the process of European unification and, in addition, full German sovereignty would not be established.

[DIE ZEIT] Let us first look at the internal conditions: Do you think that the second state treaty or the transition law will be ready for signature by autumn, and that until then you will have been able to reconstitute the laender?

[De Maiziere] Our government statement was made on 19 April. In the meantime, the State Treaty on the establishment of the economic, monetary, and social union has not only been negotiated but also ratified. In quick times one has to work quickly.

[DIE ZEIT] Thus you do not rule out elections by the end of this year?

[De Maiziere] Here I have to answer as a musician: One of the most common forms is "theme and variation." If the "theme" does not exist, there is no "variation" either.

[DIE ZEIT] Other members of your own ensemble not only said that they want to have elections by the end of the year, but that they want a date for accession as soon as the summer. Still others want the "big tattoo" as late as September 1992.

[De Maiziere] I think that the idea of "accession in summer, coming into force on day X" is based on an incorrect legal construction. One will have to discuss this again in the parliamentary groups. I think that it is not possible to have the declaration of accession and its becoming effective on different dates, because Article 23 says: "...shall be enforced after its accession." Such a "shall" as a compulsory regulation means for the jurist: immediately, without culpable delays.

[DIE ZEIT] The constituting of the laender as a precondition for accession would be possible?

[De Maiziere] I even consider it necessary, because in the all-German elections a government has to be formed. This government must be capable of action, it must be able to present draft laws to a parliament—whether or not this will be called the "Bundestag," probably it will be called this—and these laws must then also be discussed in a laender chamber, in the Bundesrat. The laender have to be represented there.

In various FRG newspapers I read articles about how it would be useful to establish five laender; it would be better to have two or three because this is easier to use in calculations, because this would be more favorable for the questions of financial distribution, etc. I think we ourselves should make this decision. We must know how many laender we want to have and what the feeling for one's homeland is like.

[DIE ZEIT] Should Berlin be an independent land, as it has already been preventively defined in Article 23 of the Basic Law, or should it belong to Brandenburg?

[De Maiziere] I think this has to be decided by the people who are affected, in the same way as, with the law on the formation of the laender, we do not want to tell the laender whether Halle or Magdeburg will be the capital city in Sachsen-Anhalt. In the same way, I will beware of speaking up for Schwerin or Rostock, or for Leipzig or Dresden. There is only one question of a capital city on which I state my opinion clearly. This is Berlin as the capital city of a united Germany.

[DIE ZEIT] Also as the seat of the government?

[De Maiziere] Also as the seat of the government, even though this has to be achieved step by step—capital city immediately, government seat gradually.

[DIE ZEIT] Before the end of the millennium?

[De Maiziere] Certainly.

[DIE ZEIT] May we once again link the problems of the formation of the laender with the speed: The proposal of your parliamentary group is aimed at holding diet elections as soon as on 23 September.

[De Maiziere] You deliberately say "proposal." This was a recommendation, the recommendation of one group within a coalition.

[DIE ZEIT] For you it is more important that the conditions you have formulated are fulfilled than that some certain date is achieved?

[De Maiziere] Yes.

[DIE ZEIT] And the conditions cannot be changed?

[De Maiziere] I consider them necessary. So far, there has been a basic consensus on this within the coalition.

[DIE ZEIT] What must be more important for us: unity or sovereignty?

[De Maiziere] Unity in sovereignty. But I want to get back once more to these objective conditions: As quickly as possible, as well as necessary—this is not an unorderly plunging toward each other, and, I think, this has to be done with a certain dignity.

[DIE ZEIT] Will you be strong enough after 1 July to evade or resist Bonn's pressure into the other direction?

[De Maiziere] I will resist it and, if necessary, remove myself [mich selbst entziehen].

[DIE ZEIT] This means that you guarantee the dignity of the process?

[De Maiziere] I want to do everything so that it is completed in this way.

[DIE ZEIT] Is the GDR state, is the GDR Government still capable of action in the full sense of the word after the first state treaty?

[De Maiziere] If you look at the State Treaty, it describes the financial and legal framework conditions, as well as some points and factors, where there are promoting and protective measures. Apart from this, it remains within the framework of budget sovereignty. Limiting the question of sovereignty to budget sovereignty is an impermissible shortening.

[DIE ZEIT] The establishment of the internal conditions is in the hands of the two German governments. The external conditions are not only in the hands of the two German governments. Do you think that the two-plus-four process will run so smoothly as is now generally implied?

[De Maiziere] The six foreign ministers who visited me after their Berlin negotiations for a brief concluding talk, concurrently reported that they have the firm intention to conclude the two-plus-four process by autumn so that at the CSCE summit it can reported: We have settled the external aspects of German unification.

[DIE ZEIT] What would these aspects have to comprise?

[De Maiziere] There is the question of the final border settlement; the question of a document binding under international law; the question of abolishing the rights of the four powers for Germany and Berlin as a whole; and they certainly also touch upon the security questions.

[DIE ZEIT] Recently you suggested ideas about the direction into which NATO has to develop. Can you detail these ideas? There was even the proposal that NATO should get a different name.

[De Maiziere] This was meant rather ironically, even though it also contains a rational core: The systems of NATO and the Warsaw Pact developed during the time of the cold war and, despite mutual assurances that they are defense alliances, I would say that at certain times they also had the capacity to do other things. Thus the media and particularly intensive indoctrination formed the image in the East European countries: NATO is an attack alliance.

[DIE ZEIT] The image still exists?

[De Maiziere] The image still exists. This became clear to me in talks in Moscow and with other East European neighbors. The assurance that NATO wants to change its structure and strategy is still met by saying: That we want to see first. In addition, the defense attitude of the alliances contained the inherent idea: Defense is carried out only by deterrence, even if it is just minimal deterrence. I think we have to get rid of the idea of deterrence if we want to achieve a potential peace system, in order to come from preserving peace to shaping peace. In this connection, my ideas are in the tradition of what we have thought in our churches. I am recalling the synod in Goerlitz in 1987.

[DIE ZEIT] One cannot dispute that deterrence has preserved peace in our part of the world over the past 40 years.

[De Maiziere] This is undisputed. Nevertheless, I think that deterrence can no longer be the measure of things in order to live up to the challenges of the next century or to the beginning millennium.

[DIE ZEIT] Does the abolition of deterrence and of the military apparatus, which is based on this principle, belong to the preconditions....

[De Maiziere] ...of the two-plus-four process? Certainly not. This is a much too complicated process for achieving this goal in a period when the internal and external aspects are linked.

[DIE ZEIT] Let us ask one more question on this topic.

[De Maiziere] I would like to finish this thought. I think that the discussions of the past weeks and months were so difficult because we always only saw the next and the following step. If we have a larger, more remote goal, a peace system, which develops out of the CSCE process and applies to Europe and to the North American democracies, and tries to include certain sovereign rights of the peoples in this process—that is, taking the CSCE out of the situation of making statements of intent and putting it into a status that is binding under international law—then this would describe a goal, for which certain steps have to be taken and outlined in the individual stages. Sometimes it is easier to find the right path if one knows where one is headed.

[DIE ZEIT] We apologize for interrupting you before.

[De Maiziere] If a question requires a certain development of an idea, I want to know when I have answered it completely and not orient myself toward when so much has been said that the other person indicates it has been answered sufficiently.

[DIE ZEIT] Your coalition agreement says that you are willing to enter NATO as part of the FRG for a transitional period, under the precondition that NATO abolishes forward defense, flexible response, and the nuclear first strike. Are these then goals close by and preconditions for the two-plus-four process?

[De Maiziere] I think so, because we used different formulations in the coalition paper: The membership of this part of the united Germany, the former GDR, will be acceptable to our East European neighbors only if....

[DIE ZEIT] Is the analysis still valid?

[De Maiziere] I think that a solution must be found which is not "just bearable" but which can be "supported." What we described here is, I think, a good and correct goal, and at the moment I do not see any reason to retreat from this goal.

[DIE ZEIT] It looks as if NATO will make great concessions to you at its conference at the beginning of July. Forward defense has practically been renounced, flexible response is up for disposition.

[De Maiziere] They are no longer talking of "deterrence" but of "prevention." However, one has to make clear to me the fine difference.

[DIE ZEIT] The goal of preventing military conflicts cannot be rejected?

[De Maiziere] Semantics sometimes is very important. "Deterrence" is transitive, "prevention" contains much more that is intransitive.

[DIE ZEIT] As a start?

[De Maiziere] Yes, it goes in the right direction.

[DIE ZEIT] Would it be sufficient for you to see that NATO is now starting to move in this direction?

[De Maiziere] This depends not only on our will but also on what the results of the Vienna negotiations will be, for instance. There is an incredible number of processes that are interlocked.

A general declaration of intent alone, however, would also not be sufficient for the Soviet negotiating partner. I think that we are talking around the matter a bit: The Soviet Union is a very decisive partner after all.

[DIE ZEIT] At the moment we do not have any clear impression about its political will. Do you have a clear impression?

[De Maiziere] I do not have a completely clear impression either. But I also do not think anything of saying that they do not know what they want. For the sake of fairness I want to tell you: Over the past weeks and months several ideas have come from there about how one should try to solve the problems. Thus, one is willing to think about it. Only very recently have I seen a similarly high readiness on the Western side.

[DIE ZEIT] Has Hans-Dietrich Genscher not made several efforts, also in the Western camp?

[De Maiziere] Yes, Mr. Genscher did so. But there are also others. If one analyzes this and thoroughly studies the speech of a lady about a week ago, this looks different.

[DIE ZEIT] Why, do you think, have the Soviets not been willing so far to get involved in Genscher's plan: In terms of territory, the former GDR would become part of the NATO area, but no NATO troops will be stationed here?

[De Maiziere] I think—yes, perhaps this is a harsh word: They do not trust peace. A very important role in this connection is played by a domestic aspect. It would really be a bad thing if people in the Soviet Union started to feel that Stalin had won World War II and Gorbachev had lost it. This is a rather widespread opinion.

[DIE ZEIT] Is this also the reason for the Soviet efforts to keep as many troops as possible in the GDR for as long as possible?

[De Maiziere] No, I think that another fact also plays a role in this connection: The withdrawal of the troops is linked with extremely difficult economic, social, and also ecological questions. I share the view that this cannot be done within half a year or a year.

Let me take just the last, the ecological aspect: There is no other region of the world where so many weapons are accumulated in as small a space as in Germany.

[DIE ZEIT] In both Germanys.

[De Maiziere] In both Germanys. So far no one has had any experience concerning how such enormous arsenals can be eliminated without doing harm and in a sensible way. On the contrary, there are terrifying estimates which say that this will be as expensive as it was to deploy the stuff.

[DIE ZEIT] We in the FRG are faced with quite a task. We could declare ourselves ready to take over the scrapping of the tanks, and also think of building barracks for the Soviet soldiers in the Soviet Union and accommodations for the families. Perhaps, it is not crazy to think of giving the Soviet soldiers vocational training here, to teach them accounting or management?

[De Maiziere] The best would be training in technology of the Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls.

[DIE ZEIT] Is all this too abstract, or do we have to think in this direction in order to find solutions to the problem?

[De Maiziere] In view of the economic difficulties, I do not think that this is unrealistic.

[DIE ZEIT] Which role can the GDR's National People's Army still play in this connection? Two Armies under separate orders in one nation—this will not be possible.

[De Maiziere] The craziest models are being thought up. Mr. Genscher's ideas are also rather crazy—but I would like to use a different word for this.

[DIE ZEIT] Unorthodox?

[De Maiziere] Good. This is probably also an overlap, because it is assumed that the Soviet troops, as long as they are here, are still under Soviet command. Then, on a territory which would politically belong to an alliance, there would be troops which belong to another alliance or at least to a power which does not belong to the first alliance. If this is possible, then the other thing is also possible—namely, that the National People's Army will not be subordinate to NATO for some time.

[DIE ZEIT] To whom would it be subordinate?

[De Maiziere] The vicious circle is that this thinking in terms of balance has determined the past 40 years. Now the Soviets are saying: It cannot be true that the balance is kept if a considerable part is taken off one side of the scales, put on the other, and then we say that now this will balance out somewhere in the middle, with God's help. This is their logic, and, after all, it is not quite illogical.

[DIE ZEIT] In our country they want guarantees against a failure or a reversal of the current process. NATO still has a function as a guarantee of transition.

[De Maiziere] Certainly. I do not necessarily want to adopt every Soviet position, but I would like to say that you are articulating a certain amount of distrust in your question.

[DIE ZEIT] Human precaution.

[De Maiziere] Good. You do not take amiss a similar human precaution on the other side, so as not to use the term distrust.

[DIE ZEIT] Would this mean that as many Soviet soldiers always have to be stationed in the Eastern part of the united Germany as there are U.S. or other foreign soldiers in Western Germany?

[De Maiziere] I do not think so. In addition, the Soviet side has already stated that it assumes that the presence of U.S. or other foreign troops in Germany would be part of a guarantee of stability, and also of international stability—namely, the feeling of having the Americans present in Europe. But one method could be to say: A united Germany will never itself own means of mass destruction, nuclear weapons, chemical weapons, etc. The proposal to negotiate on nuclear artillery weapons also points in the right direction.

[DIE ZEIT] As regards the situation after 2 July, in some parts one speaks of a "hot autumn" which we are facing, because there will be problems of social and economic adjustment in the GDR. What is your prognosis? What will the mixture between destruction and a new start, between depression and hope be like?

[De Maiziere] I do not deal with opinions that say, "one speaks." You can say this or that person said this and then I know who it was.

I think that the State Treaty on the establishment of the monetary, economic, and social union offers considerably more opportunities than it harbors dangers. Otherwise, I would not have had it signed.

[DIE ZEIT] Opportunities also for the people?

[De Maiziere] Yes. Otherwise, I would have to say that I acted in a deliberately irresponsible way.

[DIE ZEIT] Are you optimistic about the cohesion of the coalition if there were to be a "hot autumn" after all?

[De Maiziere] I think that among all those involved in the coalition there are enough reasonable people who say: This is such a difficult task; we can manage it only together.

[DIE ZEIT] The process of conversion may go hand in hand with a crisis at the beginning, and it may be some time before the advantages become visible. Not least, this depends on how many investors from the West will come. Do you get the impression that Western entrepreneurs are hesitant?

[De Maiziere] They are waiting. At the moment they are not particularly eager.

[DIE ZEIT] Could one take this amiss until now?

[De Maiziere] One must take it amiss, since the approval of the State Treaty.

At the beginning, also during the initial euphoria of 9 November, it was said: Now we can go and get on with it... Then Mrs. Luft turned up with a participation ratio of 49 to 51, with the stipulations "no protection of investments," "no acquisition of real estate," and all the other things that in the meantime have been settled. In addition, I think it is short-sighted to think that the GDR can be gained only as a consumer market. Consumers exist only if the people also have work.

[DIE ZEIT] Or the car industry, for instance, is looking for the GDR as a production site, not only as a market?

[De Maiziere] Exactly. They are clever people. In addition, the Economic Council of the Christian Democratic Union, where I gave a speech, listened with great interest and was somewhat convinced. I also talked to business people in New York, Paris, and London.

[DIE ZEIT] You used remarkably harsh words there regarding these problems of the GDR as a consumer market and a production site.

[De Maiziere] If I examine where joint ventures have been set up, I see that about 80 percent are in the area of trade. This is the scope, and this justifies such fears.

[DIE ZEIT] Do we already know all the things that are now being quietly prepared and will perhaps become visible on 2 July?

[De Maiziere] They need permission.

[DIE ZEIT] Until very recently an FRG, a foreign investor had good reason to ask: What will happen to real estate, what about its being able to serve as collateral?

[De Maiziere] I would like to say the following on this matter: In the field of crafts and smaller medium-sized enterprises the outlook is much more optimistic than it is in the case of large-scale industry. Those, who would be hit harder in the event of failure, are showing much more courage.

There are, however, also phenomena that I want to point out very clearly. There are even things that I really consider a breach of the rules of acting in good faith. FRG companies turn up here and sign declarations of intent with comparable companies here about a joint venture—and, at the same time, they make investments in the FRG area along the border in order to deliver from there. The company in the GDR with which they wanted to enter the joint venture and to which they have given the declaration of intent has its hands tied. It is because of such things that I think that keeping up the economic support for the FRG area along the border with the GDR is not a good measure for the five GDR laender.

[DIE ZEIT] Do you have any chance of acting against such "tied-hands contracts," perhaps also in cooperation with Bonn?

[De Maiziere] As far as contracts that violate the principles of good faith are concerned, I do not need even to resort to our law. I can also use the FRG Code of Laws.

[DIE ZEIT] This would be culpa in contrahendo, culpable violation of contract...?

[De Maiziere] Yes.

[DIE ZEIT] Six months ago people here were very much afraid of a "sell-out." Now they are displeased: "You are not buying!"

[De Maiziere] The fear of the "sell-out" six months ago was not mine. I left no stone unturned to try to bring a different philosophy to this matter. Even six months ago I was calling for people not to be so short-sighted. I hear people in other countries, such as Portugal, say: "German unification is dangerous for us, German capital no longer comes to us and invests here." I consider this an enrichment, not a sell-out.

[DIE ZEIT] Your explanations remind us of the words of the former Social Democratic FRG Economics Minister Schiller: "The horses do not want to drink." Is this the case?

[De Maiziere] No. First you have to tell me whom you call a "horse."

[DIE ZEIT] One of the large fields of work is the establishment of German legal unity. Let us take two practical cases: the election law and the criminal law.

Concerning the election law: In the FRG there is the five-percent clause. Do you think it conceivable that in the GDR this will not be observed and that we will have the first joint elections with a split election law, even though the basic rule of democracy is: "free and equal elections?"

[De Maiziere] Extraordinary times require extraordinary means and methods. "Equal" means: everyone is permitted to vote.

[DIE ZEIT] But also: equal weight of the votes. The weight is naturally influenced by the five-percent clause and similar regulations?

[De Maiziere] I remember that the first German elections in the FRG also did not have a restrictive clause in order to take into account the variety of opinions that had developed after the time of dictatorship.

[DIE ZEIT] At the time we had 11 parties in the Bundestag.

[De Maiziere] This is correct, and it was valid for four years.

On 18 March we did not have a restrictive clause. If we have elections very quickly, this protective period could perhaps be made use of. Now, theoretically, as chairman of a party that, as I hope, will get more than five percent, I could vehemently advocate such a restrictive clause. But I do not think that this would be particularly favorable for the development of an awareness of democracy in our country.

[DIE ZEIT] Are you arguing for differences in the election processes or are you rather saying: In order to have equality you might for once renounce the five-percent restriction?

[De Maiziere] If it were an essential requirement, one could also say: At the moment we are the ones who have had to make considerably more changes. Take the State Treaty. In the appendixes and addendums there is hardly anything worth mentioning that needs to be done by the German Bundestag, whereas our People's Chamber has had to work its way through law after law over the past weeks, as many as other parliaments do not even manage to handle in two legislative periods.

[DIE ZEIT] We must give due respect for this. Nevertheless, it is difficult to imagine that at the next Bundestag elections in the eastern part of Germany a party which has gained 3.2 percent of the vote can enter the German parliament, while the same party in the West, having gained 4.9 percent, fails to do so. One would inevitably have to go to Karlsruhe [Federal Constitutional Court]. This is the reason for the insistence on equality.

[De Maiziere] I think that on this question, too, we are just at the beginning of the discussion. It is a discussion that is suddenly particularly sought by a party that has the realistic opportunity of getting more than five percent. This makes me assume that it is not a question of the principle but that other, party tactical considerations play a role in this respect.

[DIE ZEIT] Now concerning the criminal law: Concerning the question of abortion there are clear differences between the regulations in the GDR and in the FRG. Should one live with a divided criminal law for some time, or do you know another way out of the dilemma?

[De Maiziere] I think that one could also live with a divided criminal law for some time. In addition, I consider this much discussed question not necessarily as a legal question but much more as an ethical question. However, law and ethics are not identical. If society were to make decisions in favor of the child easy, this topic would not play such a big role.

[DIE ZEIT] Establishment of a state based on the rule of law also means coming to terms with the inherited burden of the state of injustice. How should one come to terms with the legacy of the State Security Service—"forget it" or tackle it? Who is to be taken to task, which offenses should be forgotten?

[De Maiziere] I think that we are doing quite a lot in this direction, and in the past days our criminal police have made some progress on this question.

I think that guilt can always only be individual guilt, that it must not be collective guilt, and that fraud is fraud, personal injury is personal injury, and coercion is coercion in accordance with the general criteria of criminal law.

But here we reach a point that is particularly difficult in the intra-German talks. I do not know whether we are permitted to say: This is our legacy, we have to think about it, and actually, we alone have to decide on it. Because I think that this great contradiction between adjustment and resistance existed in every one of us; no one can exclude himself, and everyone has to come to terms with this by himself, in his own heart, and then he must make the decision whether he may be the judge.

But I must say once again in all clarity: I do not know whether some of those in the FRG who are now clamoring for punishment would, if they had lived here in the GDR over the past 40 years, not have been members of a very big party

[DIE ZEIT] That is the suspicion that we, who were relatively lenient about de-Nazification, are now all the more demanding strictness and resoluteness about de-Stasification—or whatever you want to call it—thus that we are asking you to do something that we ourselves did not do when it was our turn.

[De Maiziere] I do not want to play down the crimes of the past years. Nevertheless, I think that Auschwitz has a completely different dimension. We should not try to equate things that cannot be completely equated.

[DIE ZEIT] One has to equate things that can be equated: The spying, the system of apartment block supervisors, and the everyday entanglements.

[De Maiziere] I think that it is very important for us, in order to make progress, to find a solution for how we can look forward. I do not believe that it will work to have one part of a united Germany constantly walking around in sackcloth and ashes, bowed under guilt and grief, while the others feeling incomparably superior in ethical terms. There cannot be a people of 80 million human begins in which 16 million are psychological cripples.

[DIE ZEIT] We Germans have had the bad luck that in this century we experienced both the rightist and the leftist version of dictatorship in our own country. We have to come to terms with this.

[De Maiziere] I would like to stress once again: This has nothing to do with lack of determination. If we know now who specifically did a particular thing in a particular case of terrorism, this will be punished under criminal law.

[DIE ZEIT] Up to the highest state bodies of the past?

[De Maiziere] This, too, has to be examined. However, then one has to make a very clear distinction under criminal law between aiding and abetting and other things. Knowledge alone is not an action that constitutes a crime. Of course, a crime can also be committed by omission, by saying that there would have been a duty to act. I would like to be very clear about this and then I want to try to subsume this legally, and I also want to have a clear chain of evidence, not only circumstantial evidence.

We want to have a state based on the rule of law; this is our goal. I would find it very bad if in coming to terms with the state of injustice we were now to say: Because this was a state of injustice, we now want to use injustice in coming to terms with it.

[DIE ZEIT] Over the past 58 years, in both parts of Germany we have caused ourselves deep wounds, which we will go on carrying for a long time. However, we also caused deep wounds to others. What do you tell the people you speak to abroad when they broach the topic of the future role of this newly united Germany?

[De Maiziere] The first word would have to be that one also has the courage to face up to guilt and say: If I want my history I want all of it, not just the good things but also the bad ones. The second thing is that one can hope that others believe us when we say that we have learned our lesson from history; after all, it was quite a lesson. In addition, I believe—and, therefore, I always say "united Europe:" The higher up we put the idea of Europe, the more we are ready to transfer sovereign rights to a supranational unification—common market, common currency, and other things—the more solo actions will be excluded.

[DIE ZEIT] What will remain of the GDR in the united Germany? In what way will one see in five or 10 years time that there was once another German state?

[De Maiziere] In the united Germany the West Germans will have Weimar and Greifswald again, and we will have Augsburg and Rothenburg. There will be more people. I do not think that one can say: What are you bringing with you? I am not going for a visit.

[DIE ZEIT] The term "bringing something with you" comes from the people in the GDR, it played a role in the government statement.

[De Maiziere] The question has been asked. I answered it and said: We are bringing our dignity and our identity. In my view, this is the decisive question. I think that certain ways of dealing with each other that have developed now over two or almost three generations will remain. Even if one says that these were ways that arose out of a situation of deprivation; just think of how long the solidarity of the air-raid shelters stayed on after the war.

[DIE ZEIT] When you were church affairs minister in the previous government, you said that your actual task was to make this ministry superfluous. Now you are GDR prime minister, and your actual task is to abolish this state and to transform it into something else.

[De Maiziere] This is correct.

[DIE ZEIT] When this historic task has been fulfilled, do you want to continue in politics?

[De Maiziere] This is a question which I am asked constantly.

[DIE ZEIT] We ask the question because we would like to know whether a man who has gained the experience that you have considers politics as something he would like to do for a longer period—or rather as a necessary evil of which he wants to be rid as soon as possible.

[De Maiziere] The truth always lies somewhere between two extremes. On the one hand, at the moment I think there is a good chance that I do not have to adapt my actions to the criterion of being reelected. This makes one beautifully free, and I would like to keep this degree of freedom of action for quite some time. On the other hand, at the moment I have so much to do that I have really not thought seriously about this matter. It would also be a decision which I have to make together with my family, who are certainly not happy with the decision, which I made at some time at the end of autumn and this spring, and I cannot take this amiss. In addition, it depends on what the content of this politics will be like. I do not want to be a politician for the sake of politics. I would have to know what task I am facing and which subjects have to be promoted.

[DIE ZEIT] Thus being deputy chairman of the all-German Christian Democratic Union would not be sufficient?

[De Maiziere] This is another one of those questions. I want to know what the party wants to achieve, how it wants to describe itself in terms of content.

I think that in this connection I also have another criterion for making a decision: I have a job, which I like very much and which has always satisfied me, also in difficult times, when it was difficult to exercise my profession. Furthermore, I believe that we are different, after all, because we gained our experiences in life in the nonpolitical area or, at least, not as politicians, while the FRG politicians primarily gained their experiences in life in politics. This is also another approach to this question.

[DIE ZEIT] One can feel that you feel great responsibility for Germany's role in the world. Could you imagine becoming all-German foreign minister?

[De Maiziere] I have just shaken Mr. Genscher's hand in a friendly manner.

[DIE ZEIT] We have spoken about the GDR's contribution to not only uniting the new Germany but also to making it internally unified. Do we also have to change? And where?

[De Maiziere] We all have to change. I think that the FRG citizen himself has to find out where he has to change.

[DIE ZEIT] Perhaps in the sense that for the first time since World War II we, as Germans, are accepting real responsibility?

[De Maiziere] This is certainly one aspect, yes.

[DIE ZEIT] Bismarck said about the last process of unification: "One has to put the German people in the saddle. Then they will be able to ride themselves." He was wrong. Do you think that this time we will be able to ride when we get into the saddle?

[De Maiziere] I do not have any prophetic qualities. But I think that we can do it.

Assesses Monetary Union, Gorbachev

AU0207163490 Hamburg BILD AM SONNTAG in German 1 Jul pp 4-5

[Interview with Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere by Klaus Blume and Helmut Boeger in Berlin; date not given: "We Are Rolling Up Our Sleeves and Getting Cracking"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [BILD AM SONNTAG] Are you sometimes afraid that German monetary union will not work as well as expected?

[De Maiziere] I do not think anything of Cassandra's cries. Those who claim to know already what the precise effects will be are presumptuous. I say: It will work, because it must work. We GDR citizens know very well: Now it is necessary to roll up our sleeves and get cracking, and we will do this.

[BILD AM SONNTAG] Do you hope for a new period of rapid industrial expansion?

[De Maiziere] Yes, I am certain of this. In the field of crafts alone, there have been 5,000 applications for the founding of businesses. The people here in our country approach the matter with much reason.

[BILD AM SONNTAG] Thus, there is no buying frenzy?

[De Maiziere] No. Only 30 percent of the people—as can be seen from the polls—want to buy major things immediately after the conversion. Most of the money will be saved. GDR citizens are more sensible than some in the West believe or write.

[BILD AM SONNTAG] How long will it take until the wage level here will be the same as that in the FRG?

[De Maiziere] This depends on the increase in production. The increases in wages and production must go hand in hand. Anything else would endanger jobs. But it is not unrealistic to assume that we will have a 10-percent increase in productivity per year.

[BILD AM SONNTAG] Are five years a realistic prospect?

[De Maiziere] I do not think that it will take five years. [passage omitted]

[BILD AM SONNTAG] Does the GDR Government have any authority left at all? Do you not have to fear that the police will become increasingly powerless?

[De Maiziere] Over the past few weeks the reputation of the police has been enhanced. At the beginning of October they were uncertain. They were abused by the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED]. Now they are ready to be what the police should be: servants of their own state and of all their citizens, and not servants of a party.

[BILD AM SONNTAG] To ask more pointedly: You do not fear that the GDR will become ungovernable over the coming months?

[De Maiziere] You sound like Cassandra again. I am certain that we have the authority that is necessary to enforce the laws. [passage omitted]

[BILD AM SONNTAG] Another topic: Defense and Disarmament Minister Eppelmann obviously wants to save parts of the National People's Army, whose officer corps was a support of the old regime, to include them in all-German armed forces. Do you approve of that?

[De Maiziere] There is something behind your question, which certainly applies to other areas as well: If in the future we intend to distinguish between usable and unusable people in Germany, we will complete German unity in a particularly bad way. Guilt can be measured only individually; this I can tell you as a lawyer. I will not tolerate the condemnation of entire groups of people—be they former SED members, soldiers of the National People's Army, diplomats, or People's Policemen.

[BILD AM SONNTAG] Does this also apply to the State Security Service?

[De Maiziere] I repeat: I will not tolerate people being criminalized just because they belonged to a certain organization. Everyone who was trained here in the GDR must have a chance in a united Germany. One should not pretend that what happened here in the GDR was a victory of the West over the East. It was the victory of good over evil. The people who got rid of this system were the people in the GDR.

[BILD AM SONNTAG] You have repeatedly and vehemently come out in favor of Berlin as the capital of a united Germany. Would you not be bothered by the presence of Soviet troops?

[De Maiziere] Those who do not want Berlin as the capital city and the seat of government are looking for any reason at all to prevent this. Thus they link two things, for instance, and say: As long as Soviet troops are still on German soil, Berlin cannot be the capital. I do not see any compelling connection there. After all, it is remarkable that even during the cold war era, the transfer of certain government bodies to Berlin was repeatedly considered. And this should not be possible now?

[BILD AM SONNTAG] The Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD] is threatening to let the second state treaty fail if there is no general five-percent clause at all-German elections. Will your coalition break up?

[De Maiziere] It was the SPD's explicit election goal to establish German unity. Therefore, I do not think that they really will let the second state treaty fail. They will think about whether they seriously want to do something detrimental to German unity.

[BILD AM SONNTAG] Is the fact that Soviet President Gorbachev is coming under increasing pressure not also one of the reasons for the great speed of the train heading toward German unity?

[De Maiziere] For the simple man in the street it is not so important who is the first man in the Soviet Union. But it is good that such a clever man as Gorbachev heads the Soviet Union, someone who consistently has not interfered in the GDR's internal affairs. Until autumn last year we might have wished that he had interfered a bit more. But in the meantime we have reached a point where no one can stop German unity anymore—but no one wants this, anyway. Wherever I go, I am told: Yes, the time is ripe for German unification.

[BILD AM SONNTAG] The GDR still has to come to terms with some parts of its past. What will happen to the murderers at the Wall? Will they be put on trial?

[De Maiziere] I have not yet thought sufficiently about this. We have to deal with this chapter of the GDR's history within the GDR. Any decision that was made by a person, for instance, as a soldier at the intra-German border, must be seen within the context of the possibilities he had. Here, too, one has to examine the individual case and see whether one could have resisted. One has to think very carefully about this problem of guilt. We have discussed a law on rehabilitation in the Council of Ministers twice. There will be such a law; this is necessary. But this is one of the most difficult questions.

Calls Union 'Great Success'

LD0207220590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Interview with Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere by radio reporter Ivan Bedoe; place and date not given—recorded; De Maiziere in German with superimposed translation into Hungarian]

[Text] [De Maiziere] We have organized everything with almost military precision and after all, this is the biggest currency transaction in Central Europe in the past 40 to 50 years. I think it is a great success that everything is going smoothly. People are going to the banks calmly, perhaps with a little happiness and pride, too.

Second, I consider it important, and I am proud of my fellow countrymen, that they have drawn less money than expected. Therefore, we do not have to deal with a great shopping craze, inflation will not occur, and this indicates a sensible economic mentality.

Third, most people clearly see that this as an irreversible step toward German unity. People also have to realize that the FRG, by putting the Deutschmark at our disposal, has also linked its own prosperity to the prosperity of those living in the GDR. With this, the FRG more or less guarantees that the economy of the GDR can recover, and social tensions can also be avoided.

[Bedoe] In the not so distant future, one can reckon with the possibility that while wages here are lower, strikes or repeated emigrations will occur.

[De Maiziere] According to surveys carried out in the FRG, if the wage difference is not worse than 100 to 60, then people would rather stay put. The difference at the moment is about 100 to 40; this is still too much, but I think that by increasing productivity, wages will also increase. I reckon that productivity will increase rapidly within a short period of time. If I only think of the fact that the workers just sat around in our factories half the time because there was no raw material, then great changes can be expected here soon.

Views Reunification, NATO

PM0207133590

[Editorial Report] London BBC Television Network in English at 2130 GMT 29 June 1990 broadcasts in its "Newsnight" program an interview with East German Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere by correspondent Charles Wheeler. Both speak in German with English subtitles.

Wheeler begins the interview by saying: "I asked him first about the pace of German reunification and the opinion polls that have 64 percent of West Germans and 55 percent of East Germans saying it is all happening too fast. Did he have the same misgivings?

"[De Maiziere] It is happening. History is about what happens. The question is, will we be able to control events? I think we will.

"[Wheeler] There will be mass unemployment.

"[De Maiziere] That is your assertion.

"[Wheeler] Isn't it yours?

"[De Maiziere] No.

"[Wheeler] Why?

"[De Maiziere] I do expect problems initially. But what we are doing—changing from a command to a market economy on a single day—has never been attempted before. So why should I listen to pessimists predicting disaster?

"[Wheeler] But you would admit that your people's worst fears are of unemployment?

"[De Maiziere] That is true. But we are trying to take action to allay those fears by setting up 5,000 new small businesses; by building an enterprise culture and creating jobs.

"[Wheeler] People say the prime interest of the average West German businessman is in dumping goods on the East German market—and not in investing there.

"[De Maiziere] That is partly true. But it is a very shortsighted approach. You cannot sell goods to consumers who are unemployed. A market is only attractive if it contains people with money to spend. That is why I have been talking—to people from industry, finance and business in London, Paris, and New York. If the territory I am now responsible for is to be integrated into Europe it can only be through international involvement. That is the only way to allay current concerns that Germany will become an economic superpower."

Wheeler goes on to discuss De Maiziere's feelings toward NATO and the Warsaw Pact, saying "he argues that both alliances must undergo radical change."

"[De Maiziere] It is generally accepted the Warsaw Pact is obviously changing. It may be dissolving. NATO must also change if German membership is to be acceptable to neighboring East European countries and especially the Soviet Union. The old NATO strategies of forward defense and flexible response will have to be abandoned. And the type of weapons and troop levels must change. This will also depend on progress at the Vienna talks.

"[Wheeler] What will happen to the East German Army after unification?

"[De Maiziere] That is a question that applies to everybody employed by the present East Germany administration. I do not think future ministries should be staffed by only West Germans. Likewise, a future federal army must include East German officers.

"[Wheeler] Meaning that the East German Army will be absorbed by the Bundeswehr?

"[De Maiziere] That has not been decided yet. During a transitional period—and a phased withdrawal of Soviet troops—an East German Army might be confined to what is now East German territory.

"[Wheeler] In the immediate future—this year—will East German forces take part in Warsaw Pact maneuvers?

"[De Maiziere] The Pact's defense ministers and military leaders recently met and I have not been told of any plans for maneuvers.

"[Wheeler] So the Warsaw Pact has had it?

"[De Maiziere] That is too drastic. But I think it will not last much longer. Hungary and Czechoslovakia have said they will leave. But it does still have a political role—as the West's negotiating partner at the force reduction talks in Vienna."

Eppelmann Rejects German NATO Membership

LD0207181590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1700 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Text] Budapest (ADN)—Disarmament and Defense Minister Rainer Eppelmann has spoken against full NATO membership for a united Germany. At a news conference at the end of his two-day visit to Hungary in Budapest today, he called for a nonaggression pact between the Warsaw Pact and NATO. He said that he expects NATO to undertake political initiatives for this. NATO should alter its doctrine, structure, and arms in such a way that one can see that it no longer views the East European countries as enemies. During the few weeks he has been in office and during his visits, it has become clear that three or four East European armies are not "capable of being used for war" and have never been a danger to the highly technical NATO armies, he said.

Speaking to Hungarian and German journalists, Minister Eppelmann and his Hungarian counterpart Lajos Fur reaffirmed their desire for the preservation and deepening of contacts after the unification process. They said that a further meeting of the ministers is scheduled for the end of August, and their representatives will be working together on, among other things, the withdrawal of Soviet troops from their countries.

Minister Eppelmann said that the withdrawal of the 380,000 Soviet troops, together with their families, equipment, and arms, will extend over several years. Even if there is a relevant agreement tomorrow, it will be at least four years before the last Soviet soldier is withdrawn.

Denies NVA Negotiations in Bonn

LD0207205990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2026 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Text] Budapest (ADN)—There is no delegation authorized by the Disarmament and Defense Ministry to negotiate with the Federal Defense Ministry in Bonn on the lifespan of the National People's Army [NVA]. Minister Rainer Eppelmann, who concluded his two-day visit to Hungary today, made this clarification in response to questions from ADN. The WELT AM SONNTAG had reported that an NVA delegation of this descripton had been in Bonn.

Parties Propose 2 Dec All-German Election Date

LD0207212190 Hamburg DPA in German 2104 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—In East Berlin this evening the coalition committee of the GDR governing parties advocated 2 December 1990 as the date for all-German elections. This agreement required only the consent of the respective parliamentary groups. State Secretary Guenther Krause (Christian Democratic Union) said during a pause in the talks being held in the Council of Ministers building. He said that the governing parties have also set 14 October as the date for the land parliament elections in the GDR. Krause told journalists that agreement has yet to be reached on the exact timing of the GDR's accession to the Federal Republic.

Land Elections Expected in Oct

LD0107095790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0834 GMT 1 Jul 90

[Text] Hamburg (ADN)—The minister at the office of the prime minister, Klaus Reichenbach, is reckoning on Interior Minister Peter-Michael Diestel, who left the German Social Union yesterday, transferring to the Christian Democratic Union [CDU]. Reichenbach stated in an interview with BILD (Monday edition) [2 July] that Diestel would thereby lose his seat in the People's Chamber, but not his ministerial office, according to valid laws. "I know that he wants to come to us," the CDU politician told the newspaper. Diestel could continue to remain a minister as an independent or as a CDU member, GDR Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere's closest aide went on to say.

Reichenbach announced that the government intends to reach an agreement with all parties tomorrow on scheduling 14 October as a date for the first land diet elections in the GDR.

Romberg Advocates Stopgap for Enterprises

AU0207171890 Duesseldorf HANDELSBLATT in German 29 Jun 90 p 3

[Christa Meyer-Koester and Frank M. Drost report on interview with Finance Minister Walter Romberg in East Berlin on 28 June: "The Liquidity Credits Must Not Preserve the Status Quo"]

[Excerpts] According to Finance Minister Walter Romberg, the liquidity credits should not be used to preserve the status quo of the enterprises. In an interview with HANDELSBLATT, the social democratic official supports financial bridging credits for enterprises that have liquidity problems, yet the credits, which are granted on the basis of current interest rates, must not be used as subsidies for salaries.

Romberg suspects that a "torrent of bankruptcies" would hit the country if there were no assistance to ensure the liquidity of enterprises in the wake of monetary union. The loans are primarily intended for financing salaries and material, but they must be accompanied by structural adjustments. This financial aid, which comes from various sources, must be sensibly used in practice, Romberg said. [passage omitted]

Romberg regards as unacceptable the joint declaration of the two German governments concerning the settling of pending questions in connection with assets, because no answer has been given as to the sources of the planned compensation fund. Moreover, he rejects the passage according to which the final decision on state compensation payments will be reserved to a future all-German parliament.

Romberg believes that if one continues to think even further along these lines "unrest will mount within the population," and he added that this would also be grist to the mill of the Party of Democratic Socialism, the former Socialist Unity Party of Germany. He said that he had the impression that certain people of the FRG Government lack the necessary empathy for the expectations of the people here. [passage omitted]

As soon as the pressure of daily work eases, "all opportunities must be seized" to tap new financial sources. In this connection Romberg is primarily thinking of money from EC funds for structural adjustments, which was also granted to Ireland or Portugal, and of the European Reconstruction and Development Bank, to which one will also turn.

The social democratic minister believes that the GDR will have a certain leeway to pursue its own, independent financial policy even after the completion of monetary union and the setting up of a financial framework by Bonn. Within this framework it will be possible to exchange some posts and to concentrate on certain points, such as measures in connection with the infrastructure. As a social democrat, he would plead for more attention to be paid to social concerns as long as this did not burden the economy.

People's Chamber's Ullmann: 'One-Sided' Annexation

TA0107125690 Tel Aviv HADASHOT in Hebrew 1 Jul 90 p 19

[Interview with People's Chamber Vice President Dr. Wolfgang Ullmann by Yig'al Avidan in Berlin; date not given]

[Text] [Avidan] Dr. Ullmann, does 1 July, the day of monetary unification, symbolize the end of the GDR?

[Ullmann] The end of the GDR as a state began on 9 November 1989. Tradition, however, and the federal structure of five districts, which was canceled in 1952—as opposed to the artificial framework created by the Communist Party—are stronger than what people currently believe. Even 40 years of a communist regime did not succeed in erasing this tradition, and it will still live after the unification of Germany.

[Avidan] When you took to the streets in the big demonstrations of 1989 that eventually brought down the regime, did you believe they would lead to the unification of Germany?

[Ullmann] No. I am against our annexation to the FRG, which was carried out in a one-sided and undemocratic manner. At the time we wanted a democratization of the GDR, but it appears that this was impossible, because the GDR lacked a democratic foundation from the very beginning. Then we also thought that the Stasi was just one department of the Interior Ministry. We did not imagine that it was a cancer that had spread throughout the entire country.

[Avidan] So you are not celebrating today?

[Ullmann] This is certainly no holiday for me. Personally, I always lived with two Germanys. I studied theology in the FRG, in Goettingen, and my family resides in both Germanys. I never identified with either of the two. My party, Union 90, always opposed the political restrictions of the communists.

[Avidan] Nevertheless, the popular movements, those that dared take to the streets, the real revolutionaries of 1989, have been pushed out of the political scene.

[Ullmann] Especially here, in the GDR, a society which changed one totalitarian regime for another. In spite of the fears, I hope that we will pull through the economic crisis that is expected with economic unification, and I very much hope that this crisis will not lead to a political crisis with dangerous ramifications.

The importance of our role and influence cannot be measured just in relation to the large parties. It is a historical fact that one can exert tremendous influence even without parliamentary representation, and one should remember that last autumn we were much smaller. The civilian movements will not disappear from the political map even if we fail to pass the five-percent quota needed to enter the common parliament.

[Avidan] What is your contribution to the process of unification?

[Ullmann] We represent the interests of apartment owners for the little man, and we are the most vociferous opposition to the government, which represents the lobby of the rich Western financiers.

[Avidan] Do you anticipate the establishment of relations between the GDR and Israel?

[Ullmann] I hope so. We want and are working for the creation of a positive atmosphere toward Israel, and we have always rejected the hostile attitude taken by the communists. I openly opposed turning 9 November, the day the Berlin Wall came down, into a national holiday, because of the horrible memory of 9 November 1938, Kristallnacht. I have also been asked not once, because of my appearance, carefully (laughing), if I am not Jewish. My son, who looks nothing like me, was recently beaten up in West Berlin because he was thought to be Jewish.

[Avidan] How can one stem the rising flood of nationalism?

[Ullmann] Sadly enough, the government has done nothing. The national mood stops the police from using force against demonstrators, but we can and must take action via education and instruction.

[Avidan] In Israel there are many people who fear a large Germany.

[Ullmann] And rightly so. I understand them. The FRG is founded on a strong democratic tradition, which is influenced by West Europe. Therefore the danger of nationalism is greater [interview ends as published].

Transport Minister Views Transportation Union

LD0207080190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0705 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—All GDR transport enterprises were turned into limited companies by 30 June. Thus an important legal precondition for the transport union of the two German states has been created, a union which will have to flank the economic and currency union. In an ADN interview, GDR Transport Minister Horst Gibtner mentioned the most important steps for dovetailing the transport systems and for a common market. Priority has been given to filling in the gaps at the intra-German border. Already there are more than 200 road-crossing points. A terminal network is being set up in the eastern part of Germany for the effective connection of road and rail. About 7.5 billion Deutsche Marks are earmarked in the second half of 1990 for developing GDR transport routes.

Labor Minister Urges Minimum Dismissals

LD0207153990 Hamburg DPA in German 1003 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (DPA)—On this, the first working day after the intra-German economic and monetary union, GDR Minister of Labor Regine Hildebrandt (Social Democratic Party) has emphatically called on GDR enterprises to dismiss as few people as possible during the anticipated restructuring. The enterprises should organize temporary work rather than dismiss workers outright, Ms. Hildebrandt said today in West Berlin at a joint congress of the National Association of the Employers' Associations and the trade union umbrella organizations on the subject of the intra-German labor market.

Until a long-term training program comes into effect in September, the enterprises should create "immediate stop-gap possibilities" in order to "keep the workers in the enterprises." Even if 30 percent of GDR firms are incapable of being redeveloped, "we have to guide them in breaking down," the GDR politician said.

At the event, Federal Minister of Labor Norbert Bluem (Christian Democratic Union) described the extensive qualifications of GDR employees "as the key to an economic boom in the GDR." The enterprises should therefore be offered the possibility of combining further training measures with temporary work. Paying maintenance money, which is more than an unemployment benefit, to those unemployed who wish to obtain qualifications should also be considered. Bluem also spoke in favor of widespread training for apprentices in the GDR. [passage omitted]

Planned Consumer Goods Import Tax Canceled

LD3006091390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1619 GMT 29 Jun 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR Government has canceled the planned introduction of an 11-percent import duty for Western consumer goods. The Economics Ministry announced on Friday [29 June] that this is in response to yesterday's People's Chamber resolution. [passage omitted]

On Thursday [28 June], the People's Chamber, in a resolution adopted by a majority, rejected the import duty decreed on 20 June. [passage omitted]

Meckel News Conference on Talks in Rome

LD3006180090 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1414 GMT 30 Jun 90

[Text] Rome (ADN)—Foreign Minister Markus Meckel said today at a news conference at the conclusion of his two days of discussions in Rome that Italy made a significant contribution to ensuring that East Germany had its own voice in the process of its integration into the EC. He had reached agreement with his Italian counterpart Gianni de Michelis on maintaining the intense consultations and information exchange in the framework of Italy's Presidency of the EC over the coming months—particularly at expert level—in order to fulfill the joint responsibility in economic and security matters.

The swift pace of German unification demands the resolution of practical problems and concrete negotiations to remove all grounds for fears, in particular on the part of the Soviet Union, Meckel said. He was able to infer from the information of his counterpart that important initiatives in this direction could be expected from the NATO summit in London. The concluding talk with State President Francesco Cossiga showed the degree of interest with which Italy was following the process of German unification and seeking to further it, with a view to the unification of Europe.

Foreign Minister Markus Meckel announced that an Italian Chamber of Commerce would be set up in Berlin in July and that an Italian Consulate General would be opened in Leipzig in the coming year. A delegation from the Employers Association would shortly be conducting negotiations in the GDR on investment and the export of know-how.

Meckel said in response to questions that there had been no discussion during his meeting with Cardinal State Secretary Agostino Casaroli on a possible visit from the pope, although Meckel would in principle welcome this. On the subject of the all-German elections, he said that he would have preferred a date in 1991, both on foreign and on domestic policy grounds. The Soviet Union was now placed under additional pressure, and the future laender of East Germany had only a little time to constitute themselves. A decision on the election date would be made in the coalition committee in the coming week. Referring to the charges against Honecker, he said that questions of guilt should be decided on the basis of a state-governed by the rule of law. The past could not be overcome, however, through the execution of trials alone. A process of national reconciliation, in which the people should behave toward one another according to the terms of a law-governed state, is indispensable.

German Social Union Elects New Chairman

LD3006153390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1415 GMT 30 Jun 90

[Excerpt] Leipzig (ADN)—Professor Hans-Joachim Walther has become the new German Social Union chairman. He received a majority of votes at the second national party congress over the other candidate, former acting party leader Nowack. In an initial statement, Walther pledged the unity of the party. [passage omitted]

Diestel Letter Implies Further Resignations

LD3007222090 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1834 GMT 30 Jun 90

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—A few minutes before the end of the second German Social Union [DSU] national party congress the new chairman, Professor Hansjoachim Walther, read out Dr. Peter-Michael Diestel's letter of resignation from the party. The letter was still addressed to Nowack, Walther's predecessor.

With this letter the interior minister and former DSU general secretary unleashed a final flood of motions. Their common tenor: Diestel should also resign his ministerial position and his seat as a People's Chamber deputy. Concerning the first point Walther intends to address a relevant motion to Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere.

Stresses Retraining Border Guards

LD0107132790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1229 GMT 1 Jul 90

[Excerpts] Sonneberg (ADN)—As from now there will be no more stopping at the cross-border roads between the GDR and the FRG. [passage omitted]

GDR Minister of the Interior Diestel spoke of a retraining project for the GDR border guards who will no longer be needed, but Diestel's promises met with scepticism on the part of those effected, who demonstrated with banners on the sidelines of the event. The Ministry of the Interior only plans for about 6,000 of the present 14,000 members of the border troops to be used for building a new order protection service. "I will use my power to see that these people, for whom I bear responsibility as from today, have social prospects."

Sees No Reason To Leave Office

LD0107150290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1402 GMT 1 Jul 90

[Excerpt] Sonnerberg (ADN)—After his exit from the German Social Union [DSU] yesterday, Interior Minister Peter-Michael Diestel sees no reason to resign his office. A demand along these lines made by new DSU Chairman Hansjoachim Walter, is, in addition, knocking at the wrong door, and the matter must be brought to the premier, Diestel said today on the sidelines of the signing of the agreement on lifting controls in Hoenbach in Thuringia near Sonneberg. He described the fact that the present personnel structure of the party no longer enables the aims which caused him to enter politics to be implemented as being decisive for his exit from the party. He has tried to resolve the contraditions that existed between Diestel and the DSU, so that the party can develop freely without Diestel. But he will exercise his ministerial office consistently, even in contradiction to Mr. Walter. [passage omitted]

Claims DSU Had Contacts With FRG

AU0307100790 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German 0900 GMT 3 Jul 90

[Text] Interior Minister Diestel has again stated that he left the German Social Union [DSU] because of the party's swing to the right. Diestel said on Deutschlandfunk this morning that leading DSU functionaries had contacts with current and former Republicans in the FRG. At the same time, Diestel affirmed that he will not become a member of the Christian Democratic Union in order to be able to keep his mandate as a People's Chamber deputy.

Before that, new DSU Chairman Walther rejected accusations concerning the party's swing to the right. In a letter to party members issued yesterday, Walther called on those who talked of ultrarightism in connection with the DSU to put the accusations in concrete form or to desist from making them. Moreover, Walther demanded two new ministerial posts for the DSU. Diestel and Development Aid Minister Ebeling became ministers because they were DSU members, Walther pointed out in an interview for BILD.

CSU Chairman Voices Support for DSU

LD3006145490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1322 GMT 30 Jun 90

[Excerpts] Leipzig (ADN)—Christian Social Union [CSU] Chairman Dr. Theo Waigel believes that the German Social Union [DSU] will certainly enter a future all-German parliament. Speaking to journalists outside the DSU Congress in Leipzig-Markkleeberg, he announced far-reaching support for the sister party. [passage omitted] There should be equal chances in the elections to the Bundestag, which on GDR territory must not be endangered by a five-percent hurdle. Waigel stated that the two sister parties should present themselves in such a way that the voters will be in no doubt that if they vote for the CSU then the DSU was behind them and vice versa.

The DSU's current problems, for example concerning Interior Minister Diestel, are, in Waigel's view, no worse than problems in other parties. This is especially the case when one considers that it is still a very new party in its consolidation stage. [passage omitted]

East, West Berlin Subway Systems Reconnected

LD0107114490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0951 GMT 1 Jul 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—Beginning today, trains from the West Berlin subway Line Eight (Leinestrasse-Paracelsus Bad) have been stopping at the East Berlin subway and suburban railway station of Alexanderplatz once again. With the building of the Wall in 1961, the transportation network that formerly had been joined was also divided at this important point in the city.

Witnesses to this reconnection were East Berlin Chief Mayor Tino Schwierzina and West Berlin Governing Mayor Walter Momper (both Social Democratic Party), along with many Berliners. They gave the starting signal by cutting a white ribbon on the festively decorated platform. In short speeches, the two politicians acknowledged this event as a historic moment in the joining together of the city. [passage omitted]

Interior Ministry Reports Crime Rate Increase

AU0207120190 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 2 Jul 90 p 16

[Unattributed report: "GDR: Alert Stage One"]

[Text] According to a report by the Interior Ministry in East Berlin, crime has increased considerably in the GDR since the fall of the old regime.

The number of robberies and blackmail has risen to 597, which is nearly twice as many as last year. The import of "weapons, ammunition, and shooting devices" has been increasing rapidly since 1 January 1990. During border checks, 344 shooting devices, 221 irritants and gas sprays, as well as 125 cutting, stabbing and striking weapons were confiscated. In one package customs officers discovered a hand grenade.

Explosives and detonating agents were stolen from a store of the National Peoples' Army, and 4 pistols and 13 magazines disappeared from the armory of the a border troop unit near Jena. However, there is not "conclusive evidence concerning the existence of terrorist groups."

A total of 657 bomb threats have been received in the GDR since the beginning of the year. They were mostly directed against enterprises and parties, and in 81 cases against schools and kindergartens. Ninety persons received threats, including the president of the People's Chamber, the interior minister, and other members of the People's Chamber. According to security authorities, "organized drug trafficking will also spread to the GDR" after the implementation of monetary union. The number of solved cases dropped to 74.8 percent, which is the lowest it has been in 14 years. The number of traffic accidents has increased by 44 percent. Nearly every third accident is caused by a West German, and very often alcohol is involved.

Former NDPD Paper Ceases Publication

LD3006052390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2149 GMT 29 Jun 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—BERLINER ALLGEMEINE, the daily of the former National-Democratic Party (NDPD), appeared for the last time on Saturday. This is the first disappearance from the media scene of one of the traditional supra-regional daily papers of the GDR. [passage omitted]

Editor in Chief Klaus Baschleben notes in the leading article of the last edition that BERLINER ALLGEMEINE "has become above all a victim of the disquieting and diffuse media development since 18 March in our country." [passage omitted]

First Private Cottbus Newspaper on Sale

LD0107104290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0828 GMT 1 Jul 90

[Text] Cottbus (ADN)—The first private Cottbus daily newspaper is on sale from today. Entitled COTTBUSER GENERAL-ANZEIGER [Cottbus General Gazette], it will appear from Thursday to Sunday with a daily run of 40,000 copies. The newspaper for politics and entertainment, as the line below the title describes it, is printed by the West Berin printers Mercator Druckerei GmbH.

New Radio Station Established in Thuringia

LD0107114690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0825 GMT 1 Jul 90

[Text] Weimar (ADN)—Today saw the end of GDR radio's previous regional stations. "Thueringen Eins" [Thuringia One] is for example the channel of the new "Thueringer Rundfunk" [Thuringian Radio]. What has previously been the Weimar radio station started punctually with the start of monetary, economic, and social union as a land radio station.

With a significantly extended broadcasting time by six hours to 15 hours daily from now on—0500 to 2000 Monday to Friday and 0600 to 2000 on Saturdays and Sundays, [local times]—the radio station is taking the first step toward its transformation into an independent public institution. At the same time its limitation to exclusively regional subjects, and hence the monopoly of national GDR radio on reports from the GDR and the rest of the world, has ended.

The station will develop its profile as an information and service station offering a mixture of regional, national and internatioanl subjects tried and tested on ARD radio. Over the next few years two others "Thueringen" channels are to join "Thueringen Eins."

Northern Radio Stations Begin Joint Enterprise

LD0107165790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1432 GMT 1 Jul 90

[Text] Rostock/Schwerin/Neubrandenburg (ADN)—Today "RMV-the radio for Mecklenburg and Western Pomerania" started work with two programs and a transmission time which has been extended to 19 hours per day. The "RMV-regional program" is being transmitted as a joint enterprise of the three northern stations: Rostock, Schwerin, and Neubrandenburg.

Two new regional broadcasting corporations in Leipzig and in Weimar have also been transmitting from today. The new "Thuringian Radio" [theuringer rundfunk] used to be "Sender Weimar," and the station "Saxony Radio" [sachsenradio] used to be the former "Sender Leipzig." Broadcasts will also be made from Leipzig for the Saxon neighboring bezirks [areas] of Dresden and Chemnitz.

German TV Sets Up Five Regional Stations

LD0207154790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1034 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The management of DEUTSCHER FERNSEHFUNK [DFF] decided on 1 July to set up, with immediate effect, five regional stations—for Brandenburg in Potsdam, for Mecklenburg-Western Pommerania in Rostock, for Saxony in Dresden, for Saxony-Anhalt in Halle, and for Thuringia in Gera. Within the framework of the DFF overall program they will be transmitting from mid-August to begin with a daily half-hour program for their regions, which will however be gradually expanded by the end of this year to two hours a day.

The stations will be developing out of the present DFF regional studios. They are to meet the federal demand of the emerging lands to present their own image in the media. They will have program sovereignty and the right of self-administration.

Soviet Troop Withdrawal Proceeds on Schedule

LD0207155390 Budapest MTI in English
1407 GMT 2 Jun 90

[Text] Budapest, July 2 (MTI)—By midnight on Sunday, a total of 313 Soviet Army trains have left Hungarian territory, which conforms to the schedule set down in agreement.

This was reported to MTI by Colonel Gyorgy Keleti, spokesman of the Ministry of Home Defence, who said a total of 12,068 Soviet soldiers returned to their country with family members counting 6,982.

By the end of June 4,602 combat technical equipment have been shipped out of Hungary, including over 350 tanks. In addition, some 103,000 tonnes of various material was freighted across the border into the USSR.

Minister Fur Views Burlakov's 'Grave Threat'

LD0207182190 Budapest Television Service
in Hungarian 1730 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Text] Lajos Fur evaluated the statement of Colonel General Matvey Burlakov, as a grave threat, and said that the statement could create serious indignation both in Hungarian public opinion and also outside our borders.

According to the defense minister, the Hungarian side will fulfill its obligations at the final accounting, since it is fully aware of the requirements of the international agreement.

Statement May Cause 'Uproar'

LD0207203890 Budapest MTI in English
1847 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Text] Budapest, July 2 (MTI)—Lajos Fur, Hungarian minister of defence, qualified as a serious threat the statement of Colonel General Matvey Burlakov that the Soviet side would suspend the withdrawal of its troops from Hungary if the latter refused to pay one by one for each building handed over by the Soviet troops. The statement of the commander of the Southern Army Group was carred by the daily IZVESTIA.

Lajos Fur told MTI that Burlakov connected the unsettled economic affairs with the troops withdrawal which the Soviet side undertook under an agreement and implemented up to now. Burlakov's statement is a threat that may cause an uproar both in the Hungarian public and abroad and make it at least doubtful that the Soviet Union will meet its contracted obligations, Fur said.

The Hungarian minister stressed it would be impossible to assess the objects one by one since various global issues of accounting might emerge. Although some objects were really built by the Soviet side, most ones were constructed by the Hungarians and these are in a dilapidated condition. Hungary is unable to utilise several buildings constructed under Soviet standards. Furthermore, the Soviet troops caused such a deal of pollution in Hungary that an objective accounting is inconceivable without the payment of the related damages.

The Soviet side should not be afraid that Hungary will not meet its obligation if it has to pay after the final accounting. Hungary is aware of the obligations laid down in the international treaties. It has always observed them, and will observe them even in the future. Burlakov thinks that one can only fulfill something under military pressure. This is his special logic which we cannot take over, the Hungarian minister said.

In conclusion, Fur recalled that some days ago Burlakov met Prime Minister Jozsef Antall. The sides agreed on suspending the exercise of pressure through a press war and threats, and on trying to draw an exact account in a sober way, without passion.

Radio Views IZVESTIYA Article

LD0207204990 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 2000 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Text] [Announcer] The Soviet Union will halt troop withdrawals if Hungary is not willing to pay individually for the buildings handed over by the Soviet troops, the commander in chief of the Southern Army Group, Colonel General Burlakov told the Moscow paper IZVESTIYA. Gabor Tzbeki reports from the Soviet capital:

[Izbeki] According to the Soviet general, the soldiers returning home, who will be living for a long time without apartments, will not accept the compliance of either the military leadership or the government, for the compensation money paid will be used to build homes for them in the Soviet Union. This is not the first time General Burlakov has made such a statement in the debate connected with the withdrawal, and on every occasion he laid the responsibility on the Hungarian side for, as he puts it, the breach of contract.

The IZVESTIYA article, which was written by the paper's special correspondent, accuses the Hungarians of delaying tactics. It writes that it is not wise behavior to put obstacles before the troop withdrawal, then cites good examples, such as that the conversion of buildings could have commenced in Szekesfehervar and elsewhere, too, if agreement had been reached. In the article, General Burlakov proposes intergovernmental talks to settle the argument. The article keeps quiet about the fact, however, that similar problems exist also in Soviet-Czechoslovak relations.

In contrast to IZVESTIYA, Soviet television has often reminded the discontented generals that if they had remembered that they would once have to leave East Europe, then they would have taken more care about the agreements relating to the stationing of the troops abroad.

Horvath Speech on Local Self-Government 2 Jul

LD0207202790 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1250 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Speech by Interior Minister Balazs Horvath at National Assembly session in Budapest—live]

[Excerpts] [Szuros] Esteemed National Assembly, you will find the government's submission of the Bill on Local Self-Governments as Number 135 in the written material, which has been distributed to the deputies. The keynote speaker is Interior Minister Dr. Balazs Horvath, to whom I hand over the floor:

[Horvath] Mr. Chairman, esteemed deputies, ladies and gentlemen. Since the moment it entered office, the government has paid special attention to the earliest possible introduction of the self-government system. Its conviction is that the country cannot be governed for a long time in a situation where it has a parliament which was created through free elections, which reflects the will of the people, which embodies the nation's self-government, while in the villages, towns and countries, councils function which were elected under the old system and are built on the logic thereof.

The election program of every party which occupies a seat in parliament promised the creation of self-governments, in certain matters through different approaches and emphases, but nonetheless with objectives which coincided in their main directions. I very much hope that the programs of the governing and opposition parties sense the inhabitants' just and urgent demand for the creation of self-government, that through free and democratic elections, the population should be able to create independent, local organizations of power, which genuinely reflect its will. We jointly trust that the change of system will become complete and irreversible if the National Assembly, you, make it possible for the power change to take place in the settlements and counties. [passage omitted]

The essence of the Bill on Self-Goverment, which is now submitted, is that it completely discards the council system [tanacsrendszer], and instead is built on self-government traditions and the relevant historical values. The bill incorporated the versions—to be decided on—which constitute, for you, alternatives of choice within the main direction of the concept. The proposal follows the main requirements which are contained in the European Council's charter on self-government, adopted in 1985, and whose acceptance now could constitute an important step toward our gaining membership in the European Council, toward our attaining European democracy. Our objective was, and can be, solely—bearing in mind the joint interests of the European self-government systems—that we should create Hungarian self-governments, which accord with our historical traditions and our economic-social conditions.

Esteemed National Assembly: We must first reply to the question of why we propose to discard the council system in its oft-adjusted form, which unfortunately functions to this very day. It is known that in 1949-1950, the Constitution, or the first Council Law, copying the Soviet model, introduced a council system which was entirely alien to Hungarian conditions. From the outset, the main task of this system, through little local independence, was to implement the central decisions of the proletarian dictatorship, which intended to transform society and the economy, using primarily state and administrative tools. [passage omitted] The Second Council Law adopted in 1954, similarly to the First Council Law, also rejected the idea of local self-government. [passage omitted] In the sixties there was, unfortunately, an accelerated process of forcing the villages into joint councils. The biggest experiment with modernization within the framework of the council system took place in 1971, when the third Council Law was enacted. This law incorporated into the council system somewhat more, democratic solutions which pointed toward self-government, but it did not alter the basic characteristics of the centralized council system. [passage omitted]

It has now become clear that the council system, which has been readjusted several times since the fifties, has exhausted its reserves—if there were any at all. We must—and it is necessary—replace the council system with a system of local self-government which radically differs from it.

Esteemed house, esteemed National Assembly: The bill submitted by the government recognizes the natural right of local communities to independence, and to the exercise of democratic local power. The proposal creates guarantees for the assertion of self-government rights, and as a matter of course, for their protection.

The government, which is submitting the bill on local self-governments, wishes to be the government of freedom. This can only be so if it proposes that the power of the counties over the settlements be taken away and that every self-government, village self-government, be given the possibility of independent action. [passage omitted]

According to the proposal, local self-government, among legal frameworks, can independently regulate, and in individual cases can freely direct, local public affairs. The bill states, as a basic principle, that self-government can do anything in local public affairs which does not violate legal regulations. To help safeguard independence there is a provision that a self-government decision can be revised only if it violates a legal regulation. Self-government, arising from the inhabitants' free will, can freely undertake to resolve any local public affair.

A further guarantee is that it is only the law which can set compulsory self-government tasks for the self-governments. Through this, the possibility for self-governments to be the implementers of Council of Ministers' or ministers' measures ceases to exist. In the implementation of the compulsory tasks stipulated by the laws, in the organization of method of implementation, free scope must be given for self-government independence, so that local characteristics are really asserted.

The legal requirements of local independence and their guarantees in themselves are, naturally, not sufficient. Aware of this, the government wishes firmly to continue the reexamination of the jungle of legal regulations which currently are scarcely pro-self-government, and by the end of this year, it will complete the earlier promised spring cleaning in the abundance of central legal regulations which have shackled local independence. [applause]

There is a need for suitable economic foundations for self-government. The proposal acknowledges the assets and property of self-government, and the need for a specific share of assets for self-governments from state property. Ownership rights are to be exercised by the representative bodies. The proposal determines the possible and in some respects the necessary range of asset ownership for self-governments. Part of these will become the property of self-governments as a consequence of legislation, and another part as a result of specific legal measures, as a consequence of the activities of asset-handling agencies. To make self-governments the owners of assets serves not only their independence, but for state properties not at present allocated to any owner, turning them over to self-governments could be a guarantee that the self-governments which became owners will protect, and increase, their own assets and thus those of the community.

From the role of ownership it follows that self-governments could become enterpreneurs, though it is not a basic function of self-government as it is understood. The bill places two restrictions on the enterprises undertaken by local self-governments: One, the enterprise should not endanger the carrying out of the compulsory duties of self-governments; second the self-government can only take part in undertakings where its liability does not exceed the extent of its contribution.

There was debate, I do not deny, even at the government meeting, about the extent to which the self-government legislation should regulate the exact revenue of local self-governments, their budgetary support. The position of the government, our position, is that already in the self-government legislation, even if only in an indicative form [words indistinct] The proposal as a guaranteeing regulation, states that simultaneously with setting out the compulsory self-government duties and spheres of authority, parliament must decide about the financial provision for carrying out these duties, and within this, the measure and method of budgetary contribution. It is also important, and therefore the proposal so states, that self-government of settlements which are in a financially disadvantageous position not due to their own fault, are entitled to supplementary state [as heard] support. The government, at the same time, is aware of the fact that the exact measure of the financial provisions for self-governments will primarily be determined by future parliamentary decisions, first of all the state budgetary law in preparation, and the annual budget decisions. [passage indistinct]

In the interests of secure economic management by self-governments, in the relevant chapter of the State Budgetary Bill we will propose the inclusion of a provision according to which the budgetary contribution to self-governments cannot be reduced during the financial year, and even for a possible reduction for the following year certain conditions must be adhered to.

Esteemed National Assembly members, an important characteristic and consequence of local self-government is the democratic exercise of power locally. This is the requirement which is served primarily by the bill on electoral law for the establishment of local administrative bodies which the government also submitted for this session.

The present proposal on local self-government incorporates the democratic rules for the operation of self-government bodies and their committees, and the guarantees for local elections and local initiatives. Local self-government asserts in local public affairs the principle of the supremacy of the people, and expresses and fulfills the real local public will. Self-governmental decisions can only be made by the elected representative body, or on the basis of its authorization, the elected committee of the representative body, or the person nominated by them, or by local referendum.

For the democratic exercise of local power it is well known that the election and functioning of local representative bodies is not sufficient. A democratic transformation of local society as a whole will also be necessary. In the interests of this we have to dismantle economic and other local monopolies, interpenetrations. The democratic coexistence of the community also presupposes the revival of parties, associations, religious communities, producers circles, population groups and other self-organizing bodies.

I would like to draw the attention of the esteemed ladies and gentlemen to the fact that if the bill is accepted joint councils will cease. It is well known, that with not a little force and with promises that were not kept, around two-thirds of the about 3000 Hungarian villages were organized into joint councils in the sixties and seventies. The joint council meant total integration. The bill gives every village fundamental self-governing rights. Several people warned that self-government by small villages will not be viable, but our villages must first get back their self-governing rights so that in the possession of these, if they wish to, they should reach the idea of association by their own decision on matters which can be solved, more inexpensively, to a better standard only using such means.

The proposal, recognizing self-government for villages, declares the general principle of freedom of association and recommends three forms of associations for free choice. Associations for public administrative functions, association for the joint maintenance of institutions, at the same time also makes possible the association of local self-governments, with the proviso that each settlement retains its own representative body.

On the creation of a joint representative body, on matters which only concern particular settlements, their own representative body can decide independently.

In the government's view it will also be necessary to assist the provision of certain public services and utilities with economic incentives. The associations, the regional cooperations will be helped by the fact that the residents, now in possession of democratic independence, will expect their own representatives bodies to ensure improved standards of public services.

Among small villages we must mention the problems of those with a population of less than 200 occasionally 30-40 people. In the case of such small communities a conflict of independence and effectiveness arises. The government, as the explanation for the proposal states, considers it justified that these villages join neighboring villages, and the village selected cannot in this case refuse this association. Taking into account what was raised during the preliminary debate of the National Assembly committee on the proposal—and I wish to draw the attention of the esteemed house to this—the government wishes to define more precisely the content of Paragraph 46 of the proposal so that even in the case of such small communities, association should not be compulsory. Therefore, paragraph 46, first sentence, is modified as follows: and I quote: A village of less than 200 people can become self-governing with a village which has borders with it.

Primarily for the legal and professional handling of administrative matters in the case of small villages, it is necessary to organize a system of one attorney serving several villages [koerjegyzoeseg]. In the organization of the joint councils an apparatus was formed which it is justified to retain. This system [koerjegyzoeseg] is a well-known Hungarian self-government solution which, with contemporary content, is suitable

We have been debating for some years about the method of electing village and town mayors. The need for the mayor to be elected directly by the population was widely felt. This general demand, however, originates from the time of the party-state, or at least I think so.

This mode of election seemed to be the only guarantee for it not to be the local council body, controlled by the one party, which decided who should be the council chairman. The representative body, formed at the free and democratic self-government elections however, truly represents the will of the electorate, and thus the election of the mayor—as is the case with the majority of the European self-governments—can be given to the sphere of authority and [word indistinct] of the representative body.

The government, choosing the two alternatives, asks the esteemed National Assembly to decide between them. [passage omitted]

Not disputing the importance of the method of electing the mayor, I would like to draw the deputies' attention to the role of the mayor, on the basis of Paragraph 36 of the bill. The mayor, through the notary, directs the office of the representative body. It is the fundamental task of the office to prepare and implement the self-governing decisions of the representative body. At the same time, the mayor can be involved, as a supplementary task, in the handling, not of self-governing tasks, but tasks of state direction too, the sphere of which is determined by separate laws, government decrees. [passage omitted]

Esteemed National Assembly, the bill considers every self-government to have equal rights, to be equal. In the case of public services, however, to be determined in separate auxiliary laws, for example in the case of the functioning of a hospital or technical high school, the law can estabish more obligatory tasks and spheres of authority for the self-governments with larger populations. The extra responsibilities of a populous self-government, however, do not mean exclusivity, since a settlement with a smaller population can voluntarily undertake the creation of any public service on its own area of operation. If, however, it does not do this, then there is always a self-government which is obliged to take care of the organizing of the public service stipulated in the law. [passage omitted]

The county in the council system was the tough executor of the central will: It ruled the local councils, allocated the money, and the local level depended in everything on the country. The bill puts a stop to this powerful position of the counties, in all respects. It entrusts the county self governments—taking into account also the European experiences—with the organization of only those public services which either extend to all, or to a large part of the county territory, and in the case where the larger part of the service is used by people not living in the seat of the institution. If these services were left exclusively in the sphere of authority of those towns where these institutions have their seat, then we would exclude—and it is the essence—the tax-paying citizens of those villages, small and medium-sized towns, from having a say in the organizing of the services which affect them too, from asserting their interests, since it is common knowledge that in the town representative bodies there is no village representative.

The government supports the creation of county self-governments, as contained in the bill. There can be several methods of electing the general assembly [koezgtyueles]. It is significant, however, that a self-governing county body, built from below, and democratically elected, should be formed. This kind of county self-government is in no way superior to the settlement self-governments. On the contrary, it represents more effective representation and protects the interests of settlement self-governments, as well being able to organize the district public services which go far beyond the borders of one town, on the basis of the common will of the inhabitants of the villages and the towns.

I would like to speak separately about the capital. Budapest, as the capital of the country requires special regulation within the self-government system. A two-tier self-government is necessary in the capital, but the division of labor between these two tiers must be regulated by this law and other provisions of law. In our opinion and standpoint, the optimal principle of the division of labor is that the districts of the capital, on the basis of the law, should have the rights and spheres of influence of the town self- governments. The general assembly of the capital should also exercise self-governing rights in matters which affect the whole of the capital, or a great part of it, but without infringing the rights of the districts. The government did not support the proposal that was aimed at certain districts of the capital becoming independent towns, possibly even becoming detached form the area of the capital. At the same time, its stance is that the districts of the capital should be given a similar self-governing independence to that of the town self-governments. The material and sphere of authority guarantees needed for this must be created for the capital's districts by later legal regulations. The districts of the capital and the capital too, taking into consideration their special situation, must be given wide scope to formulate the details themselves.

Settling the situation of the large towns was also much debated. The government's stance is that the large towns should be declared towns of county status. The bill, taking into consideration the possible size, contains two alternatives: Population of 60,000 and 100,000. It is a characteristic of larger towns that they have the institutions and other conditions through which they can carry out county self-government tasks too, on their own territories. The county self-government, however, in respect of the villages, small and medium-sized towns, can take care of the organization of medium level services. A town of county status can cooperate with the country self-government, can operate together with the county self-government. However, a town of county status does not send a representative to the county general assembly. The attention of the county is to be directed in everyting to the villages and the small and medium sized towns.

Esteemed house, As I mentioned earlier, only the National Assembly can establish spheres of authority and tasks for the local self-governments. at the same time, according to paragraph seven, Section one, the elected leaders of the self-government, or its appointed public officers, can be invested with a state direction sphere of authority, through a Council of Ministers decree, and the mayor can be obliged, is obliged, so locally implement state direction tasks. [passage omitted]

The proposal takes as its point of departure the solution which characterizes Europe—that set employees of self-governments, along with accomplishing the tasks of self-government administration, can also perform tasks in the sphere of state administrative work stipulated in legal regulations. At the same time, the justification for the proposal also indicates the task, that the current, eclectic sphere of council tasks and jurisdiction needs revision as soon as possible. In the course of this, there is justification to transfer a considerable proportion of affairs, now arranged by the council authorities, to a specialized state authority independent of the self-government, however, only with the provision that in this matter all the legal regulations hand on to the self-government's local office tasks related to forwarding documents, preparation and implementation.

I have to speak separately about the institution of lord lieutenant [foeispan], or if it is given a different label, of the government representative. It is apparent from the proposal that it is not a question of there being a lord lieutenant, government representative, who might be able, in any manner at all, to spread himself out to the local self-governments. The law unequivocally circumscribes the sphere of tasks of the lord lieutenant. He cannot supervise the local self-governments; even regarding legality, he will only carry out monitoring activity, and he will be able to take indicating, initiating steps. Yet any decision will always come under the jurisdiction of the courts. The government representative, the lord lieutenant, can provide professional, methodological help by way of official assistance, only at the express request of the self-government which needs these. The proposal excludes all opportunities for possible patronage by the government representative.

In conclusion, I inform the esteemed National Assembly that the government has determined the tasks concerning the preparation of further legal regulations connected with the Law on Local Self-Governments. In the summer and early fall period, this requires of the ministries speedy, coordinated preparatory work. The government considers it to be of principled significance that parliament should before this enact the Law on Local Self-Governments. In this basic law, it should designate the place and role of self-governments, in our democratic legal state which is being built; it should decide the basic questions concerning local self-governments. The full development of local self-governments naturally requires further legislation. However, these cannot be worked out without the basic questions of self-government having been decided.

In accordance with the provisions of the Law on Self-Governments, with the principles it contains, the operational legal regulations attached to it can be prepared. On the basis of the timetable set by the government, the proposals can be submitted to the esteemed National Assembly in the fall period, when the new self-government representative bodies are expected to begin operation in substance, in November of this year. By then they will have the legal regulations which are absolutely necessary for their work, they will know their material possibilities for the year of 1991, and they will finally be able to begin genuine self-government [passage omitted]

Miners Strike at Oroszlany Collieries

LD0207204790 Budapest MTI in English 1958 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Text] Budapest, July 2 (MTI)—The miners of the Markushegy unit of Oroszlany collieries went on strike on Monday morning and have not yet resumed work. Peter Akos Bod, minister of industry and trade, failed to arrive at the spot until evening.

The miners made up their mind to wait for the night shift and decide together what to do.

Sandor Gyorivanyi, minister of labour, Istvan Pohankovics, state secretary of industry and trade, and Mrs. A. Kardos, spokesman for the latter ministry, arrived at the spot in the afternoon.

Addressing a workers' rally, Mrs Kardos said that, as compared to the other sectors, the government had taken the most measures to improve the situation of mining. The government plans to release 30,000 million forints, the bulk of the sector's debts. In agreement with the miners' desire, the government is to reexamine the competence of company managers.

We do not have any objection against the new government, the miners shouted, We object that those who drove coal-mining to are still in high offices. [sentence as received]

The miners demanded that they should be made interested in production, and the mines should remain state-run units rather than become public limited companies. They also demanded a pay rise of 25-50 per cent.

The ministry officials proposed that the miners should elect a delegation which would hold talks with government experts on July 4. The miners, however, insisted that the ministry of industry and trade should travel to Markushegy with no delay because he was the only one they would accept as a negotiating partner.

Walesa, Najder at Citizens Committees Session

LD3006181190 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 30 Jun 90

[Report on speeches by Solidarity Chairman Lech Walesa and Citizens Committee Chairman Zdzislaw Najder in the Warsaw Sejm Hall of Columns at Citizens Committees session on 30 June—recorded]

[Text] Ladies and gentlemen, today's "Magazyn" program has a slightly unusual format. We begin with a report from the meeting of representatives of Voivodship Citizens' Groups in the Sejm Hall of Columns. Opening the proceedings, Lech Walesa said:

[Begin Walesa recording] Esteemed ladies and gentlemen: Actually, I do not have a speech; I only have a piece of paper, because I only wrote down three points. At this moment and on this occasion, I want to say that the Polish reforms have reached a turning point. In fact, we hear a great deal of discussion. In the end no one, including myself, is convinced as to which road is most appropriate.

Aware of the fact that a great deal depends precisely upon this, I would like us to treat this meeting, like all other meetings, as one (?truly for discussion). I do not know if everyone is aware that an organized communist system really no longer exists, and that we are creating a new system, a system which will place obligations not so much on us elders, but on our children. Mistakes made today, regardless of who makes them, will rebound on us, and they will either bless us or curse us.

Two concepts are being delineated, one of which I am drawn to, but I am not convinced that it is the correct one—we still need to discuss this, but above all, to think about tomorrow when, following these crystal-clear people who have something to say today, will come less crystal-clear people, and they will exploit the defects of the system we are building today. If this is so, everything ought to result from the economics of democracy. We are not talking about men of destiny here, because they are less important than a hundred others who work better together.

Thus, the system, in my opinion, ought to be aimed precisely at mathematical results, and simultaneously mathematical results should create an equilibrium, not superiority. No one should have an advantage over anyone else in a manipulative way; however, everyone should have access who has something to say about equal opportunities for everyone.

Once again I repeat that I myself do not know who is right here, which idea is correct. Therefore, let us talk, let us listen to the voices of various people, both inside and outside. Let us not hurry; hurrying here might really harm us. We need pluralism, particulary in the subjects which we can cultivate today. I hear, [word indistinct], but I will repeat it, I hear various instructions from outside: Why are you discussing today, arguing whether to support, to create pluralism, when you should really unite to build the economy, because things are bad for you. I recognize that argument, although I am very frightened by it. That is because before we wake up we shall have gone so far with the personnel system, which is created normally and systemically, that there will not be time to correct it.

All revolutions, you know, were beautiful revolutions until they replaced the regime. Once they replaced their predecessors, it was only a matter of time before they proved to be hopeless revolutionaries. Ours too was splendid, and ours might also have such a future, and to avoid it one needs to remember that economic stabilization needs to be brought about, but that the opportunity to build pluralism ought not be squandered.

I repeated at the conference in Vienna that we do not have pluralism of skin color for example; we have only one permanent resident Negro. We do not have a pluralism of nationalities, although [word indistinct] as there are a few groups of small ones, but they are such small groups that it is not pluralism, which would be a partnership.

Next, we lack economic pluralism. In the West, the enterprises and factories are the state, with tanks and Armies. Such pluralism is defended by their constitutions; their rights generally give a chance of defense in these places. We do not have that. We have to start building it, and in building those normal things in normal countries, a pluralism should be avoided which is overblown into 150 political parties and tens of trade unions. That, however, is only my idea of the future. We cannot afford that kind of pluralism; if we do not build where we can afford to, we will fall sooner or later into a system based on monopoly, which will come to a bad end.

I do not want to impose more on you; I prefer to listen; I am not hoping for any decisions here, and I think, what is more, that there should not be decisions for a long time yet. We are too weak, myself included, too weakly prepared; we need to avoid mistakes. We do not have to hurry. We have a government, and quite an operative one, as we know. We have various options, so we do not have to be afraid of anything; we can thoroughly prepare for the work. I invite you to discuss candidly. I invite you to take notice that fate probably again wants us—we, who are tired from the battle with the communists—to sacrifice ourselves and to build a system not for crystal-clear people, but for real people, with bad tendencies, with dictatorial and dishonest aspirations, who will come along after us, and will take advantage of the defects of the system which we are building today. Thank you. Please take the floor. [end recording]

Following Lech Walesa, Zdzislaw Najder took the floor.

[Begin Najder recording] Ladies and gentlemen, I would like to start by joining the appeal by the chairman for all of us to be in agreement on all the issues. Agree at least on the fact that we want to talk to each other, we want to discuss together, as matter-of-factly as possible, honestly, in an open manner, with a feeling of solidarity. A solidarity that is felt, notwithstanding all the issues which divide us.

A call for the solidarity of Poles in these difficult moments was made just recently by the pope in, among other ways, a letter to Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki—a letter which was made public yesterday. On 18 June, the pope also sent a letter appealing for solidarity to Lech Walesa. I will allow myself to read this letter to you:

Dear and Esteemed Chairman,

I wish to thank you most sincerely for the telegram sent to me on my birthday, and for the wishes and feelings expressed in it. In my prayers I thank God everyday for the long road which, in the last decade, our homeland has traveled. I will also admit quite honestly that I give thanks for you—who have been, along this road, a leader and a point of reference. At the same time, it is with concern that I pray for the future of Poland and for that of my countrymen. The difficult past and the road traveled have, in some ways, been easier than the tasks which now face the nation and its leaders. You are a faithful son of the Church and a trustworthy person. It is therefore in just such a spirit that I write these words and wish you new light, inspiration, and strength in the service for the good and the unity of the homeland. May all those to whom Poland is dear work together and unite in solidarity around a program for putting the republic back on track.

I wholeheartedly bless you, Dear Sir, as well as your wife, your whole family, and your co-workers.

The Vatican, 18 June 1990. [applause]

I read this out to you in the same spirit in which, I am sure, the pope wrote it: as a call to solidarity over differences.

Now a few explanations, for the situation has, especially in the last few weeks, become very muddled, and the reports from the debates of the Citizens' Committee held last Sunday have only served to make things less clear. I hope that today's report, the account from today's meeting will be better. I also hope that Polish Radio will devote as much time as possible to these reports.

Now a few words about what happened at the Citizens' Committee. Well, quite simply, the point was that the Citizens' Committee, attached to the chairman of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity, was united on the fact that it was fighting a common foe. When, more than a year ago, this common foe was defeated, one could either draw conclusions from the fact that, within the committee, there were various points of view, various stands on the details of mending the republic, about the road along which we should travel to reach common goals; or one could close one's eyes to the divisive differences and try to continue to work as if the committee were a completely cohesive body. It was about this that further conflicts arose: whether to draw conclusions from the pluralism existing in the committee—and expand this pluralism—or to enclose the committee in a formula—which, in fact, no longer exists—of unity imposed by the common foe. The whole argument started from that.

Now—as far as the subject-matter of conflicts around the Citizens Committees [KO's] is concerned: I have heard many times that it is a question of personal conflicts, group conflicts, of the interests of cliques or personal ambitions. In my opinion, this is not true. The question at issue is a basic politico-ideological conflict, a conflict concerning the model of our democracy. As to the fact that we are aiming at democracy, there is, in effect, no quarrel. There are quarrels when it comes to the model chosen: Is democracy to be modelled from below or constructed from above? Is democracy to be spontaneous, spirited, independent, or is it to be planned, orderly, and coordinated?

I believe in a democracy the citizens build from below, from the very foundations, where they decide for themselves where they want to belong, which programs they wish to support, in what they agree with the government and in what they do not agree, what stands, groupings, parties, coalitions they wish to form. I believe that we have reached this point. The Citizens Committees are, thus, a great school of such a grass roots, spontaneous, vital, often unorganized but authentic democracy. I hope that that school will remain.

It is true that for us in an organized, directed, and planned democracy it is easier to have order and easier to achieve support for the government, but I think that support would be weak, based on declarations, because real support, strong support, established support can only be achieved when people decide for themselves, make choices themselves, and are not directed from above. They decide themselves how to organize, how to affiliate themselves into groups. That is because then they feel jointly responsible for the decisions made, and the government needs support in the form of joint responsibility for the decisions made by us all and by that government. A good government, our government, needs for the citizens to feel that they jointly decide and are jointly responsible for those decisions on all levels. This is what the argument is about here, ladies and gentlemen, about that model of democracy, about the road to full and developed democracy, whether it will be created from below, or organized from above.

That is why I think that local KO's ought to function in such a way that the approaching parliamentary elections—we do not know how near they are, and perhaps they are very close—assure themselves a decisive influence on the selection of candidates. The candidates ought to be found and nominated locally. I think the time of parachutists has passed.

I think, and perhaps many of you, some of you do not agree with me, but I think I should say it openly, that what happened on 17 June and all the plans to federate the KO's was preparation for creating a national electoral committee, which would orchestrate the electoral campaign of the KO's in the voivodships and regions.

I think that this must be called by its rightful name and without frills. [applause] I ask this question: If the KO's are to propose a single, joint team, then one must ask against whom this team will be playing. It is to wear the colors of the government and the KO's—but where is the opponent? For if one organizes a team to play against someone not known—well, in the end, one can make up some opponent or other. If we are to mobilize each other, then we must ask: Against whom? Because all this sounds to me like the mobilization slogans of 20 or 30 years ago which forced us to spend billions of zloties on defense in order that we should prepare for a battle with a foe who—in effect—did not exist. It is true that the government does not have an organized party, but it does not have an organized opposition either. I also fear that the creation of a bloc of support will give rise to a bloc of opposition. We do not wish such polarity—nor a result which would be the exact opposite of what we aimed for.

Our government is not threatened by an opposition—surely everybody sees this quite clearly? It is only threatened by its own mistakes and negligence. The best support for our government is the pointing out of its mistakes and its failings by friends, by allies. Instead of polarity, I—and in this I follow the lead of the chairman of this union—we propose pluralism, we propose multiplicity, we propose to admit various opinions, varied opinions, within the framework of this joint Polish solidarity of ours. I believe that the KO's were a great discovery of ours—we devised them, we found this way to fight those communists. Their achievements are very significant. They gathered together very valuable, often the most valuable people of all, within the local regions. Now new responsibilities, new tasks face these committees, this Polish discovery of ours. Their duty is to develop a mature democracy.

I think that the committees can do that by opening the most varied programs, varied visions, varied ideas. I propose the removal of trade barriers between the KO's and other ideological milieux. But, ladies and gentlemen, those are only propositions. I believe that the KO's ought to remain independent, and that is the best guarantee of their civic role [obywatelskosc]; this civic role is a conscious influence on the life of the state, and that is what I wish you. Thank you. [end recording]

Vatican Explains Pope's Letters

LD3007221990 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1752 GMT 30 Jun 90

[Text] The Vatican's press spokesman has today declared before journalists that Pope John Paul II in his letters to President Wojceich Jaruzelski, Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki, and Lech Walesa did not express particular support for the head of the Polish Government, as has possibly been suggested by certain reports. These were just letters containing thanks for birthday greetings sent to the holy father, all three letters bearing the same date and of a similar content, stated the spokesman.

Mazowiecki Absence Regretted

LD3006171490 Warsaw PAP in English 1452 GMT 30 Jun 90

[Text] Warsaw, June 30—Representatives of the Citizens' Committees opened their session at the Sejm building today, following a call by Lech Walesa and Zdzislaw Najder.

The meeting is attended by members of the Solidarity National Commission, of the Citizens' Committee at Lech Walesa [as received] and deputies and senators with Senate speaker Andrzej Stelmachowski.

While discussing the agenda, a delegate from Torun suggested that the delegates should decide whether the meeting is to last one or two days. The delegates voted against the proposal.

During the break in the debate, Lech Walesa met with some 40 deputies and senators. No newsmen were allowed to attend that meeting.

Opponents to a concept to federate the committees took an active part in the discussion. Andrzej Kostarczyk of the Citizens' Committee at Lech Walesa expressed regret at Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki not coming to the session. "Mazowiecki is not only premier of the Krakow alliance. He is also premier of the Centrum agreement and all other forces which will derive from solidarity," he said.

Movement's Future Voted On

LD3006211290 Warsaw PAP in English 1843 GMT 30 Jun 90

[Text] Warsaw, June 30—A commission for resolutions offered three solutions concerning the future of the Citizen's Movement to participants in a meeting of representatives of the Citizen's Committees. The first one means that the Citizen's Movement does not establish any formula of action on the national level. The second one implies that the Citizen's Movement establishes the formula of cooperation in the form of conference, without setting up permanent representation and other central structures. The third one envisages that the Citizen's Movement sets up a federation that is to appoint permanent representation.

In the voting, the majority of 89 persons came out for the second variant, 10 persons (including Zbigniew Bujak) for the third and 11 persons for the first.

Walesa Closes KO's Meeting

LD3006231890 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2116 GMT 30 Jun 90

[Closing remarks by Solidarity Chairman Lech Walesa at the meeting of Citizens Committee representatives in Warsaw on 30 June—recorded]

[Text] To conclude, I would like to say a few words, ladies and gentlemen. The first thing is that one must really give heartfelt thanks to Henryk Wujec and to all those magnificent people. It is a good thing we are learning to live in a way that is accepted in civilized countries. We must learn to do this because in a democracy we will often be changing posts; such are the laws of democracy.

At the same time, colleagues, I have this favor to ask of you: I know and everybody, the whole country, knows about your complaints, but the fact that Lech Walesa has acted in this or that way—I have explained a thousand times that I have acted this way so far, for three years, because you have not actually worked out how the chairman and everybody else is to behave. There has been no order, no system, no regulations—I could not watch this with impunity [as heard]—decisions, that is something that is expected of me and those decisions must be made. I must, however, subordinate myself to all the laws that are in force at a given moment.

At the moment, democracy is in force and it will continue to be. You have worked in the underground, you are born conspirators—fine, and I have truly said that you are not attuned to these times, because you do not observe any of the rules of the game. I am sorry—I would like to work with you, I would like to, but you must subordinate yourselves to the laws we will lay down together. For the time being you are not subordinating yourselves. I do not have the time to wait, the committee is collapsing, the disorder is ever greater. In Poland, too, it is time to return to orderliness.

That is why, well, I know it is not good, I would like to do right, but to do anything at all, I must make unpopular decisions. It hurts me very much, because we spent time together in prisons, we fought together. That is how it is: a working horse is no good for racing. That is true, and it is an old principle (?that does not need repeating).

I also wanted to thank you for the invitation. Tomorrow I will not be at the committee, not for political reasons, only I think that everything that had to be attained was attained. We could not make any decisions, as it would have been undemocratic. Tomorrow we can discuss it even more broadly, but it is really a discussion that is not resulting in anything. Poland needs discussion, but your cause is above all in the regions, and that is where you should do it. I gave my word, however, I do not know now what the prime minister is going to do, (?if he is to be offended). I will keep my ears open. I am still going to listen; if he says I escaped, then I will be sure to be there, but if he does not come, what should I be there for? [applause]

At the same time, dear ladies and gentlemen, I would give an awful lot to know whether my decisions and propositions are pertinent. I did not say, or I told you lightly, that what I am doing at the moment relates precisely to my uncertainty. From my observation, what we are building, what changes we have—I do not want someone to think I made a bad decision, precisely in the manner you accuse me of, in a dictatorial manner—that is why I am not making any decision, as the matter is of historical importance; you must make the decision, so I can have an explanation.

I have already said jokingly that when they are good I will claim them, if they are bad, then you did it. That is the law of life. [word indistinct] think in a patriotic way. This system will be in force for at least 50 years and maybe longer. There is no communism and that is why you must start consulting, start thinking how to do it, so we do not all make mistakes. No group, no Walesa; here is Poland, yours, your Polish children, they will put them inside, they are going to send ZOMO [Motorized Reserve of the Citizens' Militia; special riot police disbanded in 1989] against them. If we do it badly now, if we do not use the chance now, I feel that, I feel my uncertainty, and that is why no psychological game, no president, the president does not count, we are going to change (?him) at every Sejm if necessary, but we must be able to change him, otherwise they will change us or our heads.

So I call upon you, I appeal to you on behalf of Poland: it is important that everyone should join in. We do not know, nobody has a patent for Poland—no group, not Walesa, not Mazowiecki—we all have it and we can find it.

Let us approach this without ambitions; let us sit down and make ourselves aware of the great danger and of the great opportunities, of the possibilities of joining Europe. Nobody is standing in our way, everything is in our hands. Are we capable of understanding each other, of agreement? Will we find a forum where we can quarrel? (?Will democracy still exist?) No one wants to give up his place for another, for a group. People are attacking each other. Well, where are we going to find such a forum? In the Citizen's Parliamentary Floor Group? At Henryk Wujec's? This is impossible.

The matter is far more wide-ranging, wider than the Citizen's Parliamentary Floor Group, wider than Walesa. It is as wide as Poland, as its possibilities are wide. I invite you into this width; I invite you to wisdom; I invite you to build Poland together. Thank you.

Wujek Resigns From Walesa Committee

LD0107090490 Warsaw PAP in English 0323 GMT 1 Jul 90

[Text] Warsaw, June 30: Solidarity leader Lech Walesa told a conference of the citizens' committees here he would not attend a meeting on July 1.

The Sunday meeting of citizens' committees will be expectedly attended by Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki.

In his address delivered to close the conference, Walesa appealed for agreement and said his recent activities were taken with a view to creating a forum which would comprise the citizens' parliamentary floor group OKP, Henryk Wujec who is ex-secretary of the committee at Walesa, and Adam Michnik.

Head of the citizens' committee at Lech Walesa Zdzislaw Najder confirmed today Henryk Wujec's resignation from the post of secretary of the committee at the Solidarity leader. Nine other members of the body said they were going to resign.

Mazowiecki Calls for Walesa Meeting

LD0107143490 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 1 Jul 90

[Report on speech by Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki at Citizens Committee meeting in Warsaw on 1 July—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] Andrzej Jelenski, who only a moment ago was in the Chamber of Columns in the Sejm, where a meeting of representatives of Citizens Committees [KO] is being held, is already with us in the studio. Please.

[Jelenski] With a slight delay, the conference of KO's started in the Chamber of Columns in the parliament of the republic, which was called today by the eight-person secretariat of the meeting: Zbigniew Bujak, Zygmunt Kolenda, (Aleksander Krezekowski), Aleksander Laduda, Andrezej Porawski, Ryszard Setnik, Antoni Tokarczuk, and Henryk Wujec. After agreeing on the meeting's agenda and the election of people running today's conference, it was agreed that following the election of the mandate and motions commission, discussion would be held on the future of the KO's. At the end of the meeting, which is sure to last several hours, specific suggestions and postulates on the future of the KO's are to be accepted.

[Announcer] Before the opening of the discussions, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, prime minister of the republic, took the floor. We are now broadcasting the prime minister's speech in its entirety.

[Begin Mazowiecki recording] Ladies and gentlemen, I want to say a few very simple and sincere words to you, as a certain muddle has been created around these two meetings. As there was no news as to whether I was going to be here today, I want to say these few words to you.

I thought it would be better if I said them to you personally than if I were to write some kind of letter to you. It is obvious when I was here in this chamber—how long ago was that, two weeks or more—when you invited me, together with Mr. Lech Walesa, to come to your meeting, I accepted that in a natural way. Later when I was at the second meeting, however, I came to the conclusion that I ought to decline from being present at that meeting, so as to give you, the KO's, the possiblity to freely, without any pressure, and without anyone's influence, define your character, your role, and your future,.

I was in Budapest yesterday and today I have come to tell you precisely this. I think you ought to be able to define your role and your function yourselves without pressure from anyone.

If I told you last time that the government needed political support, I had in mind the need for political support for that line, for that cause, what is happening in Poland, and I believe that you assess correctly and well to what extent that is a Polish cause and to what extent it is a cause of the government.

I also want to say, as I heard on television yesterday, that Mr. Lech Walesa said if the prime minister thought he had escaped he was ready to come here. I do not think that at all, nor would it even cross my mind. I know that Walesa is not a man who escapes. I can only say that Walesa, knowing me, knows well that I do not think that way.

Recently things have become so personalized around the persons of Lech Walesa and myself, and you know well, as you sit here in the chamber, that I have not done anything to make that happen, that I was the object of those attacks and not of the sides and subjects; I want to say to you, because many, so many people think I do not want to meet Lech Walesa, that there are some sort of difficulties here, I want to tell you that I do not have any difficulties, psychological, internal or of any other kind about talking to Lech Walesa, and I never had any. It cannot happen, however, that the telephone is supposed to only operate in one direction. I do not know why that telephone was not able to operate before war at the top was declared, but in spite of everything there is now, it cannot be that telephones are to operate only in one direction.

I am not opposed in any way to meeting Mr. Lech Walesa, but my telephone is not going to work when it is going to be interpreted as an act of serfdom. It will work when it will be regarded as a talk between partners. Please, at any time, I am ready to telephone Mr. Lech Walesa personally, or anyone else to meet him. I ask you not to think that I have any kind of considerations of prestige here. I think, so that certain issues can quiet down, I think that [word indistinct] and I am proposing to Mr. Lech Walesa that we talk next week. [applause]

I am not proposing that we talk about the fact that there are no differences between us, because that would not be true, but that we talk about what we both, seeing around us [words indistinct] do, so the arguments and battles, which are unavoidable, are carried out in such a manner that will not destroy the common good of Poland and the joint achievements of Solidarity. [applause]

If it is a question of the KO's, as I have said, I think you should be able to freely, without anyone's pressure, define your own role, your character, (?and what you want to be permanent from the social and political geography). I think you should do that yourselves without anyone's pressure, and that is why I ask for understanding. After having said these words, I do not know whether Speaker Stelmachowski wants to take the floor. If so I will listen to what he says, if not, then after saying that I wish you good and fruitful deliberations, I will leave your chamber. But, I want to say just two things from myself.

I think you should define your role yourselves, but you should have a very sharp awareness, in my opinion, of the importance of the issues you are deciding and what we are dealing with here. You ought to be aware that today with (?so many) difficulties, at this crossing of this part of the path, a very difficult crossing of this part of the path, which we knew would be difficult, the question is as follows: Should we allow a battering of the state to occur and a withdrawal from this path, or should we travel on down it, even though it is very difficult? That is what the question is about and your attitude will be decisive on this.

Second, I am afraid that the word democracy will not once again be interpreted [as heard]. It is not, as I heard in the report from yesterday's meeting, an argument between a spontaneous democracy and one organized from above. No one here wants to organize democracy or hamper the spontaneous organizing of it. That is quite simply untrue.

Democracy is not the best system, but it is a system in which one has to learn the difficult art of mutual respect. So it is a problem whether Poland has a choice only between totalitarianism, which it had, and deterioration and anarchy, on which authoritarian governments grow, or whether it is a choice for a joint construction of the foundations of democracy. We can argue about what kind of details it is to have, but the basic principle of democracy is that everyone subordinates themselves to it in an equal manner.

I think that you, deciding quite freely, must be aware of the fact that important things are being discussed here in Poland, and not personal issues. You must have that awareness so the defenders of democracy won't only wake up when they are losing it. I hope and believe that, and I will do everything so that won't happen in Poland. [end recording]

KO's To Form Independent Body

LD0107195790 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 1 Jul 90

[Text] Today's main event in Poland was the meeting of representatives of Citizens' Committee [KO's] in the Sejm building. They were invited by an eight-member secretariat which organized the meeting. The secretariat is made up of, among others, Zbigniew Bujak and Henryk Wujec. We have in our studio Andrzej Jelenski, who observed this meeting closely.

[Begin Jelenski recording] At the beginning of the meeting the floor was taken by Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki. The meeting then moved on to a programmatic discussion on what exactly the KOs were to be today and in the nearest future. After a stormy debate it was decided, in a vote to sound out people's opinions, that they are to become a national conference of KOs; that there should be some connection retained between the National Conference of Committees and the Citizens' Committee attached to Lech Walesa. The meeting also supported the identity of the citizens' movement in its present form.

With a majority of votes it was decided that the Conference of KO's would act as a body independent of the Citizens' Committee attached to Lech Walesa and would cooperate with it. The majority of those attending today's meeting were of the opinion that the KOs should become an area of joint action for all citizens who identify themselves with the Solidarity ethos. The proposal that the KOs should be an area for the joint action of parties and political groupings did not gain acceptance.

A resolution was also adopted in which a proposal was made to Zdzislaw Najder that, in the meeting of KO's planned for 21 July, a four-person team—appointed from among the delegates attending today's forum—should take part. Support was also expressed for the quickest possible formation of a voivodship representation of Citizens' Committees. [end recording]

KO's Urges Walesa-Mazowiecki Talks

LD0107215890 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2130 GMT 1 Jul 90

[Excerpt] Today's meeting of representatives of Citizens Committees ended with the adoption of a resolution calling upon Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Lech Walesa to undertake talks for agreement on joint action regarding problems rankling the broad masses of the population. We support the philosophy and actions of Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government, states the resolution, which are delineated by the concepts of democracy, law and order, and the market economy. We urge acceleration of the elimination of remnants of the communist system in Poland. [passage omitted]

Walesa Proposes Gdansk Meeting

LD0207224790 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 2 Jul 90

["Text" of letter from Solidarity Chairman Lech Walesa to Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki; place and date not given]

[Text] Esteemed prime minister, I have more than once expressed my readiness to hold a meeting with you. I continue to express this readiness. The Founding Commissions of NSZZ Solidarity at the Gdansk Shipyard have invited you, Mr. Premier, and all the deputies and senators of the citizen's Parliamentary Floor Group for 8 July. I believe that there is no better place for our meeting than the historic BHP Hall [the Health and Safety work rooms] in the Gdansk Shipyard. We will have the opportunity to speak face-to-face, just as in August 1980 and May 1988. Let us meet at the source. Signed: Lech Walesa.

PSL Party Chairman on Striking Farmers

LD3006202990 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1752 GMT 30 Jun 90

[Statement by Polish Peasant Party Chairman Roman Bartoszcze; place and date not given—read by announcer]

[Text] Countrymen, brothers, peasants!

It is with sadness that I am forced to state that the conflict and the motives of the striking farmers have been presented in a tendencious and one-sided manner. Information given in the mass media was presented in such a way as to project the interests of the government, completely omitting the reasons for which the farmers came to Warsaw and what their guiding motives were.

Taking upon myself the political role of mediator, I defended the interests of both the peasants and the government. Since the prime minister represents our government and therefore mine as well, I believed that one should make the greatest possible effort in order to see not just the letters written on paper—and here I have in mind the farmers' postulates—but also to see live people with their worries and difficulties of everyday life and their hopes. I have the duty to say here that in the countryside—that is, on that territory which is of particular interest to me, and which I know best—there has gathered, within the last few days, such great unrest, such feelings of hopelessness and of being wronged, that should the government take away from the countryside any remaining hope it may have that through legal means it can achieve changes, then the government must reckon with the fact that the countryside will look for other means.

This feeling of hopelessness is overtaking not just the countryside at the moment. This is a problem which is topical for the overwhelming majority of the nation. In my opinion, the government has lost the trust it had been given. It is with disquiet that I observe the growing abyss between the motives of the government and those of society. Whether we want to be aware of this or not, there is already an us and them division. In this situation, I call upon the Sejm representatives to undertake, at their very next meeting, a discussion on the model of the state's political and economic system. The nation must feel that it is living in its own country and it must especially understand where it is being led. We must not allow our homeland to be set alight. Our aim is to build a great Poland.

[signed] Roman Bartoszcze, chairman of the PSL [Polish Peasant Party].

Center Accord's Kaczynski on Future Government

LD2806225590 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 28 Jun 90

[Text] During the Center Accord founding meeting in Katowice, the leader of the Accord, Jaroslaw Kaczynski, spoke about the need for a Solidarity Party. He also expressed the opinion that a change in government is needed in the sense that people from the roundtable agreement should leave it. It would thus be not a new, but a renewed government, he stated. He stressed the need for corrections in Balcerowicz's economic policy, the speeding up of privatization, as well as a radical demonopolization.

Jaruzelski Denies Being Inactive as President

LD3006094290 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 29 Jun 90

[Interview with President Wojciech Jaruzelski by unidentified reporter at the Belweder Palace on 29 June—recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] Mr. President, today you expected a reply from the gathered journalists as to how the consciousness of Poles should be constructed for the future. You asked how the presidency should look. You asked how these disturbing events that we now have in Poland should be presented. Meanwhile, the discussion mainly related to the problems of journalism, the difficulties that journalists are now facing, unemployment. In this situation, are you satisfied with the course of this discussion?

[Jaruzelski] We are only halfway through as yet, and I count on the fact that in the further part these subjects about which you ask, about which you speak, will be touched on more widely. In any case, certain parts have already appeared in the statements made so far, but I am trying to understand the mood of journalists who for the time being are speaking of their problems, who are speaking of the philosophy of journalism. This might be useful as a background to further discussions. I count on the fact that they will in fact reply to my appeal, and that the second part of the discussion will be fuller in this respect.

[Reporter] The charge was made today that you are insufficiently active. What is your judgement on that?

[Jaruzelski] I would try to clarify that activism does not depend on the issuing of loud cries, but on the daily, conscientious activity through which I try to serve Poland. I think my numerous contacts, talks, and publications in some sense serve this.

[Reporter] The government has found itself in a cross fire. On the one side it is attacked by part of Solidarity. There is also social disturbances. We have the successive days of protest by farmers, but you nonetheless today declared a full willingness to support the government.

[Jaruzelski] I consistently support the government under the leadership of Prime Minister Mazowiecki. First, I recognize that the program it is implementing in general corresponds to the expectations of our society, and I support it because it is a government that enjoys trust in the international arena. Irrespective of that, I personally have a stance of great respect for Prime Minister Mazowiecki, and I know that he sees the need to correct certain parts of the plan and program, so as not to disturb its basic structure. These are very complicated problems of the countryside. There will indeed be some activities required that will allow the agricultural program to be brought still closer to the expectations of farmers, but this should take place along the road of rational dialogue and accord, of which we in any case spoke yesterday with Chairman Bartoszcze, precisely recognizing the necessity for such activity.

[Reporter] A representative of the GAZETA GDANSKA said that for the good of Poland you should resign as quickly as possible and give Lech Walesa a chance. What do you say to that?

[Jaruzelski] [word indistinct] purely personal. I, particularly the manner in which I could state that I am attached or glued to that seat, and I (?say) that life, public expectations, and above all the needs of Poland will be the correct reply. I am also trying to take those wishes into consideration.

[Reporter] One more question from me. The accusation has been heard that your pacifying of the situation took place two years ago, that you are continually saying the same thing, only in a different political situation.

[Jaruzelski] To that I would say not only two years ago, but also 10 years ago I quieted the situation down, and eight, and six and four, and two, and now I am pacifying. That is social calm, and I am here (? to do that) consistently. Unfortunately we did not succeed in attaining that social calm in the period that has past. I hope that the government, which today enjoys great public trust, will attain that peace, that credit. That is precisely what I support.

[Reporter] Farmers want you to help them in solving the conflict that exists at present. Will you take up that task?

[Jaruzelski] [? You know) that is not included in my constitutional responsibilities. I try to function in accordance with the Constitution, within its framework. Naturally I hold various kinds of talks. I spoke after all to Mr. Bartoszcze, the Polish Peasant Party chairman, yesterday. I spoke to the prime minister, and I understand both the prime minister and Chairman Bartoszcze very well. The situation here, however, is really so complex. I still believe that by way of dialogue the right solution in accordance with the law and the far-reaching interests of agriculture and the whole of society will be found. I still want to refer to your question. Whether I said once, yes I spoke differently. I have always been, for example, opposed to strikes as such, and today I am also their opponent. (? There was a time when) people took up varying stances to strike in the past. Strikes were supported in their time, and today they are negated. I have always been opposed to strikes.

Ministers Announce Fuel, Food Price Hikes

*LD3006193190 Warsaw PAP in English
1715 GMT 30 Jun 90*

[Text] Warsaw, June 30—The official price of electricity will go up in Poland by 80 percent while this of natural gas by 100 percent as of July 1. The price of energy for home heating will double.

Postage will go up by 60 percent and radio and television licences will rise by 50 percent.

The Council of Ministers resolved to lift official prices for coal, coke, low-fat milk and low-fat cottage cheese. The finance minister obliged producers of these goods to notify mark-ups to treasury departments.

The cabinet also decided to fix the indexation coefficients at 1.0 in July and 0.6 in August and September.

Foreign Minister Skubiszewski Views German Unity

*AU0207155290 Hamburg BILD AM SONNTAG in German
1 Jul 90 p 3*

["Guest commentary" by Foreign Minister Krzystof Skubiszewski: "We Poles Want German Unity"]

[Text] We Poles will do everything possible so that the great desire of the German people to live in state unity and democracy is fulfilled. But we hope that the great speed of Germany's reunification corresponds to the speed of contractual settlement of the Polish-German border. In this we may expect the unanimous agreement of all main participants in the two-plus-four talks: We expect that the upcoming conference in Paris will bring the necessary breakthrough.

For Poland it is important that even before the beginning of Germany's reunification there are concluded internationally valid treaties that will not permit any ambiguity about the German-Polish border in its current form, that have an international character, and that are binding for the future sovereign and united Germany.

I think that the success of the negotiations is a gain not only for the Germans but for all of Europe. German's unification is an important step toward liquidating the Yalta order with Europe's postwar division, the traces of which must disappear completely. Now we expect of the West active involvement in eliminating the political and economic differences. Poland wants to be as close as possible to the EC. In the same way, we do not reject cooperation with NATO.

Spokeswoman Optimistic on Relations With Germany

LD0207162790 Warsaw PAP in English 1027 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Text] Warsaw, July 2—Government spokeswoman Malgorzata Niezabitowska appeared on the main TV news bulletin on Sunday saying in part:

On Polish-German Border

I think the state of the Polish-German relations is good. For a number of months the Polish Government has consistently driven at elimination of all disputable or open issues from these relations, ones which might become a source of future conflicts.

On June 22 the parliaments of both German states adopted an identical resolution on the future of Germany. We are very satisfied with it because it contains a number of very important elements. First of all, it very seriously expresses the political will of the German state, the united Germany, to recognize the Polish border in a legal international treaty.

Moreover, the resolution refers to the Treaty of Zgorzelec and the treaty with the FRG of 1970 and hence as if confirms the principle of succession of these treaties by the united Germany. It was very important for us as well.

The inviolability of the border was also confirmed. Germany, that is both German states at present and the united Germany in future, pledged they will put forward no territorial claims on Poland.

During the debate on the resolution, Chancellor Kohl said something he had declined to voice for many months and about which we cared very much. He stated that the Polish-German border is final and he shared the view he had presented many a time that only a finally recognized border may link and not separate (both states).

Visa Issues

Visa issues are to be discussed during next meetings of the commission which deals with a treaty. So far we have managed to prevent introduction of visas to West Berlin.

It would be a bad thing if the unification of Germany were to be associated with some restrictions, or stricter regulations towards Poles.

On Securing Polish Economic Interests

I must say with satisfaction that all but one postulates of the Polish side were met and our interests have been secured. The only unfulfilled postulate concerns the "S" accounts (East European currencies accounts held by private Polish citzens in Polish banks, the GDR considered financial means gathered on them as illegal) not recognized by the GDR.

Savings of workers employed on government contracts, including the whole border zone, of employees carrying on trade contracts, of students and post-graduate students will be recalculated on the principles valid for GDR citizens, so there will be no discrimination of Poles here.

Old age and disabilty pensions, alimony, inheritance, allowances, scholarships, etc. will be exchanged at the 1:1 ratio. The savings of Polish diplomats accredited before December 31, 1989 will be exchanged 2:1, and of those accredited later on—in the relation 3:1. [as received]

There is also a small but prestigious issue, namely since 1949 accounts from the period of World War II held by Polish citizens in East German banks have been blocked. Interest will be paid on the means gathered on the accounts and they will be recalculated 2:1. Owners will be able to regain their money.

At present enterprises and ministries are to renegotiate contracts according to the new principles.

It seems to me we may be optimistic about future on this very important day, as it is the first day of an actual consolidation of both German states. We may believe it is possible to build a community of Polish-German interests in an integrating Europe, Malgorzata Niezabitowska opined.

Further on Polish Officer Graves Near Kharkov

LD0207163490 Warsaw PAP in English 1106 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Text] Lugansk, July 2—Today the KGB has no data which might prove that there are any burial sites of murdered Polish officers from Starobielsk in the district, KGB deputy district commander in Lugansk, the Ukraine, Colonel Leonid Geretyk told PAP.

After the article published by the LITERATURNAYA GAZETA weekly on June 26, it was settled without any doubt that Polish officers were transported out of Starobielsk in April 1940, the colonel said.

The PAP correspondent reviewed three volumes of acts on the cemetery discovered near Lugansk. There is no mention of Polish officers in the documents.

According to the prosecutor's office of Lugansk the LITERATURNAYA GAZETA publication on the Starobielsk prisoners is not based on facts. Hence, the weekly's thesis on the burial of Polish officers from Starobielsk in Lugansk area has to be considered premature and unfounded.

An exhumation of mass graves outside Kharkov scheduled for July 20 should provide better information on the fate of officers kept in Starobielsk. According to more reliable sources they were buried there.

Nastase Attends Council of Europe Meeting

Addresses Gathering

AU3006133390 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1900 GMT 29 Jun 90

[Text] Proceedings of the summer session of the parliamentary assembly of the Council of Europe opened today in Innsbruck, Austria. Some 200 parliamentarians from the 23 member countries are participating in the session. The session is devoted primarily to developments in East Europe. In this respect, it will examine requests from four East European countries—Hungary, Yugoslavia, Poland, and Czechoslovakia—to join the council. The session's agenda also includes a report on the situation in Romania.

Present at the Innsbruck meeting, the new Romanian Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase said that Romania attaches great importance to joining the Council of Europe. Adrian Nastase added that Romania wants to clearly show that it has embarked upon the road of democracy. On the first day of the opening of the parliamentary meeting of the Council of Europe in its summer session, the Romanian minister expressed the hope that the European parliamentarians will change their minds about the latest events in Romania. Mr. Adrian Nastase said that 177 people had been arrested in the wake of the events of 13 to 15 June; however, he added, they are not in custody for political reasons, but rather for having caused damage to public property.

The Council of Europe also invited Bishop Laszlo Tokes and Mrs. Doina Cornea to participate in the Innsbruck meeting. Well-known Romanian dissident Mrs. Doina Cornea said she was disturbed by the recent events. The new government most prove that it is ready to observe human rights. A first gesture in this respect would be the release of the political detainees, Mrs. Doina Cornea added.

'Guest Status' Requested

AU0207184890 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 2 Jul 90 p 4

[Hannelore Rudisch report: "Romania Is Trying To Achieve Guest Status at the Council of Europe"]

[Text] Innsbruck—One day after the formation of the new Romanian Government, a high-ranking delegation of ministers and parliamentarians at the Council of Europe, in Innsbruck, tried to paint the picture of a Romania which is making honest efforts toward democratization.

Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase, Justice Minister Victor Babiuc, and Mircea Ionescu-Quintus, deputy president of the Deputies' Chamber and of the National Liberal Party, made assurances that those responsible for the violent actions in University Square in Bucharest on 13, 14, and 15 June will be taken to task.

Granting of Guest Status

Romania wants to join the Council of Europe or at least be granted guest status, which the USSR, for instance, already has. The decision on this matter is to be made in the autumn; until then, Romania will have to explain numerous incongruities, it was said.

Therefore, not only official representatives but also members of the extra-parliamentary opposition and the opposition press were invited to the hearing at the parliamentary assembly of the "23" from 29 June to 3 July.

Civil rights activist Doina Cornea, who has left the National Salvation Front under protest, painted a completely different picture of Romania than the politicians, who were striving for international respect.

Since the elections, the situation has deteriorated, she said; here mail is opened, she is subjected to personal attacks, and the free press continues to be censored.

The Front is manipulating the people with slander and disinformation; therefore, the elections, too, were manipulated. In her harshest accusation yet, she says that even under Ceausescu, Iliescu's actions during the unrest in mid-June would have been illegal and would have had to be punished with up to three years in prison in line with Article 324 of the old Criminal Law.

When Cornea called for specific proof before Romania is granted guest status at the Council of Europe, the chairman of the hearing interrupted her in mid-sentence.

Nastase Discusses Meeting

AU0207205890 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1900 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Interview with Foreign Affairs Minister Adrian Nastase, upon his return from Innsbruck, where he participated in the summer session of the parliamentary assembly of the Council of Europe, by Mircea Rucareanu; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Rucareanu] Mr. Minister Adrian Nastase, you are granting us the first interview in your new capacity as Romania's minister of foreign affairs. Would you like to say something about the talks you conducted in Innsbruck, from where you returned tonight, or better said, about the Romanian message you conveyed to the parliamentary meeting of the Council of Europe?

[Nastase] The message presented by our delegation—which consisted of governmental, parliamentary, and expert groups—emphasized our determination to continue on the road to democracy. It was a natural message, in tune with our domestic concerns, which necessarily also became a message of foreign policy.

In practical terms, the foreign policy statement, which a newly appointed government usually makes, was delivered to the European Parliament rather than in the country's parliament. In this respect, we believe that the idea of a shock treatment in foreign policy was a good choice, as it tried to connect the changes in the country to the perception of the Romanian phenomenon abroad. This is the duty of us all. In this context, I would like to point out with great satisfaction the way in which the Romanian team [word indistinct] participated in hearings, news conferences, and meetings, with our positions converging toward the idea of the need to promote Romanian national interests.

[Rucareanu] Can you name some of the people you held talks with?

[Nastase] First of all, I, that is our entire delegation, was invited to a hearing in the committee for relations with nonmember countries of the parliamentary assembly of the Council of Europe. Second, we had a meeting with the president of the parliamentary assembly and with the general secretary of the Council of Europe.

There were many other meetings between various parliamentarians and between parliamentary groups of the same political coloring and we participated in many interviews and in a special press conference for our delegation. This morning I met with Mr. Alois Mock, Austria's federal minister of foreign affairs; this was our first bilateral contact.

I hope that our activity has marked a first step toward defining and implementing an active foreign policy, which should rely on a constructive formula for internal action, that in its turn will be a basic and useful foundation for a positive expression in the global arena.

Delegation Meets With Lalumiere

AU0307084690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0645 GMT 3 Jul 90

["Romania in the World: Meetings of Romania's Representatives in Innsbruck"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, 3 Jul (ROMPRES)—Adrian Severin, minister, assistant to the prime minister in charge of reform and relations with parliament, Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase and Justice Minister Victor Babiuc, who attended the summer session of the European Parliament in Innsbruck, held talks with the secretary-general of the European Council, Catherine Lalumiere.

Particular aspects of a growing cooperation between the European Council and Romania were discussed, with special reference to the concrete steps the Romanian Government could take in order to bring the country closer to the European organisation in view of Romania's official application for special guest status.

Mme Lalumiere said that there was unanimity of view on Romania's place which is in Europe but that the specific ways to achieve this and the stages of the process are yet to be decided. Cooperation actions are being considered by the European Council's Secretariat and the Romanian authorities, including visits at various levels and assistance to draft a democratic constitution and other laws.

Eventually, Mme Lalumiere also met with Romanian parliamentarians Vasalie Mois, vice president of the Senate, Mircea Ionescu-Quintus, deputy speaker of the Assembly of Deputies, and Dumitru Teaci, chairman of the Lower Chamber's Agrarian Democratic Group who stressed that even though there were differences in the platforms of the political parties represented in parliament, there was unanimous agreement on the idea that Romania should join the European Council which, they also said, they were hopeful the Council would duly consider in discussing the matter of its relations with Romania.

Council's Bjorck Views Relations

AU0307084490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0728 GMT 3 Jul 90

[Text] Bucharest, 6 Jul (ROMPRES)—"We take great interest in the relations with Romania" stated Anders Bjorck, president of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe in a meeting with Romanian journalists present at its summer session in Innsbruck.

"No doubt, Romania is part of Europe and it will become in future full member of the Council of Europe. Sure, this is a matter of calendar both for Romania and for other countries in Central and Eastern Europe", he added.

"I have told the Romanian friends that one of the best ways to mark progress toward strengthening the relations with the Council is to invite parliamentary delegations from our organization to assess the situation on the spot. The Council of Europe is a gate open to the other European institutions."

"What has happened in the Eastern part of the continent" Mr. Bjorck added, "is a miracle of our era. This gives hopes for a United Europe. For the first time in the post-war period, we can talk of a Europe that can be the region number one of the world." "At present everyone is expectant about Romania. Your country has no doubt taken the right way. A part of this way is economic development and secured stability. If you achieve this you will have investments, inflow of capital, transfer of technology needed not only for Romania but for the development of all countries" concluded the president of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe.

Roman, Martian Receive EEC Delegation

AU0207112590 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1000 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Text] Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman is currently meeting with the EEC Information Mission, which includes representatives of Ireland, Italy, and Luxembourg— countries to which the past, current, and the future president of this European organization belong— that is, with Mr. Patrick Murphy, [name indistinct], and

(?Jacques Cartel), political directors in the Foreign Ministries of the respective countries.

The delegation is holding talks with the Romanian delegation concerning the finalization of a commercial cooperation agreement between Romania and the EEC; as it is known, the text of this agreement has been worked out and initialed at the working level and will be submitted for approval to the EEC.

Also today, the EEC delegation held talks with the president of the Deputies' Assembly at Parliament headquarters. Mr. Dan Martian briefed the delegates about the parliamentary activity in Romania and about the actions of the parliamentary Investigation Commission in connection with the events of 13 to 15 June in Bucharest.

Further on Visit, Iliescu Meeting

AU0207185590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1728 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Text] Bucharest, 2 Jul (ROMPRES)—The delegation of the political directors in the Foreign Affairs Ministries of Italy, Luxembourg and Ireland together with representatives of European Community—present in Romania over July 1-2, 1990—was received by Mr. Ion Iliescu, Romania's president, Mr. Dan Martian, speaker of the Assembly of Deputies, and Prime Minister Petre Roman.

The country's president and the prime minister presented at length the current preoccupations and the prospects of the process of democratizing the political and social life in Romania based on political pluralism, on the firm transition to the market economy and the stimulation of free initiative.

Emphasis was also placed on Romania's wish and actions to develop its ties with all states, especially with the European states, as well as with European multilateral organizations like the Council of Europe and the European Community.

At the parliament's headquarters, the speaker of the Assembly of Deputies referred to the activities and legislative programme of the two chambers of the parliament, to the organization and course of the activity of the special commission to inquire the June 13-15 events in Bucharest.

The delegation also held talks at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs with Messrs. Romulus Neagu, secretary of state, and Mircea Mitran, deputy minister, regarding the prospects to develop the relations between Romania and the European Community.

Assembly of Deputies Session Continues 2 Jul

AU0207124290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1135 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Text] Bucharest, 2 Jul (ROMPRES)—The new work week of the Assembly of Deputies started Monday [2 July] at noon with debates both on the controversial bill of the pay of Romania's president, the senators, and the deputies and some advantages to benefit all of them.

The 298 deputies present there of the total 396 are to start in the same session the study of the program-declaration presented last week by the prime minister to the country's parliament.

Apart form the debate on that document, the Assembly of Deputies is also to analyze new bills this week, including one of utmost importance referring to the organization of the local administration—county, city, town, and commune ones—by the elections to be held also at that level. This week too, the Assembly of Deputies is to establish the nominal composition of the Standing Working Commissions which are due to start activities next Wednesday [11 July].

Endorses Presidency Budget

AU0207192390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1638 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Text] Bucharest, 2 Jul (ROMPRES)—In its Monday [2 July] session the Senate endorsed the law of the budget of this year's presidency and continued to discuss the bill on the salaries of the president of Romania, the senators and deputies by articles. The final talks on that bill were postponed till Tuesday.

National Students Congress Convenes

AU0207135690 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1300 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Text] The proceedings of the National Students Congress, organized by the Students League of the Bucharest University, got under way at the Bucharest Law Faculty. Representatives of student trade unions from Cluj, Craiova, Constanta, Iasi, Tirgu Mures, Timisoara, and Bucharest are discussing issues pertaining to the activity of student organizations, and ways and means for future activities.

The proceedings were opened by Mr. Mihai Gheorghiu, vice president of the Bucharest Students League. The meeting elected the working bodies of the congress, after which discussions on the agenda started. In the afternoon, the proceedings are taking place in sections.

Munteanu Elected Honorary President

AU0307090490 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0400 GMT 3 Jul 90

[Text] Proceedings of the National Students Congress, organized by the Students League of the Bucharest University opened yesterday at the Bucharest Law Faculty. The congress was attended by 32 student organizations from Bucharest and other parts of the country.

During the first day of proceedings, Mr. Marian Munteanu, president of the Students League of the Bucharest

University, was elected honorary president of the congress, as a symbol of responsible actions and the promoter of nonviolence, dialogue, and of the struggle for truth, justice, and freedom—reads a communique signed by the vice president of the Students League, Mr. Mihai Gheorghiu and on behalf of the Press Bureau by Mr. Vasile Mugur.

We also inform you that during the first day of proceedings, the congress elected its working bodies, then began discussions on the agenda on issues referring mainly to the activity of student organizations and on their actions in the future. In the afternoon, the proceedings of the congress were held in sections.

Ecological Delegation Departs for France

AU0207150090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1319 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Text] Bucharest, 2 Jul (ROMPRES)—Upon the invitation of the European Parliament, a delegation of the Ecological Movement of Romania headed by its president, Toma George Maiorescu, left for France to attend the proceedings of the European Parliament and of the European Green Parliament in Strassbourg. At these meetings the Romanian ecological delegation will make proposals concerning the foundation of a European Green Parliament within its continental boundaries, including Eastern, Central and Western Europe.

Head of Ecological Movement Views Future Tasks

AU0307102390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0855 GMT 3 Jul 90

[Text] Bucharest, 3 Jul (ROMPRES)—"The Ecological Movement Will Campaign for the Destruction of the Hotbeds of Pollution..." says Professor Dr. Dolphi Drimer, deputy chairman of the Ecological Movement of Romania in an interview with daily DIMINEATA. "We plan for the period ahead steady political and scientific activity in harmony with our fundamental vocation environmental protection and conservancy" stressed D. Drimer, showing that in future the ecological movement would have extreme exigencies in the observance of the norms of water, soil, subsoil and air sanity.

Referring to the recent setting up of the Ecological University of Romania, Professor Drimer mentioned that it planned to train experts apt to ensure in future the neutralization in future of the pollution sources in conditions of economic efficiency, for "depollution is a work of intelligence and we are apt to find the necessary solutions." As for the world ecological movement, Dr. Drimer showed: "we have found a great many things in common with similar movements, especially in France, Belgium and Hungary, we have connections with the organizations in Czechoslovakia, Federal Germany and, more recently, with those in Italy and the Republic of Moldova."

Labor Ministry Works Out Unemployment Bill

AU0307101990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0837 GMT 3 Jul 90

["Social Life: Bill of Unemployment Benefit Under Debate"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, 3 Jul (ROMPRES)—The Romanian Ministry of Labour and Social Security has worked out the bill of unemployment benefit and the professional reintegration of the unemployed. Starting today the bill is at the TU Federations' disposal for inspection. They are expected to come up with proposals, suggestions and observations which they should discuss at the week's end with the ministry.

Gypsy Group Protests Arrests, Maltreatment

LD0207081190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0500 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Otto Oltvanyi report from Bucharest—live or recorded]

[Text] The Bucharest police have started a large-scale anti-Gypsy campaign. The Ministry of Interior has officially acknowledged this much: Through this they will purge the capital of parasitic [eloeskoedoe] elements, eliminate the black market, and catch pickpockets and those wanted by the police. During raids the police encircled various zones, put Gypsies into police vans, and took them away. According to the police, 345 people were arrested, some of them were given fines for offences, and released. However, goods and money to the tune of 400,000 lei have been confiscated and judicial proceedings will be launched against many others. The Democratic Federation of Gypsies in Romania has announced a protest against the action. It alleges that the possessors of power now want to make people believe the Gypsies are responsible for the 13 June disturbances in Bucharest. The Federation has made it public that in the course of the pogroms by the authorities and miners several thousand Gypsies were brutally maltreated, their homes ransacked and burned. The Federation protests the fact that Gypsies have been illegally arrested and interned in the (?De Benesei) and the (?Magurele) camps. The number of injured amounts to several hundred. This was established by the committee which the Gypsies have established to uncover the circumstances and facts of the pogrom. The Federation has also informed the public that the organization's leadership was prevented from protesting to the government and the official organs concerning the pogroms. The Federation demands the release of those arrested and asks for the immediate cessation of organized and directed actions aimed against the Gypsy ethnic group by authorities.

MDUR 'Regrets' Parliament's Minority Stand

AU0207172690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1520 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Text] Bucharest, 2 Jul (ROMPRES)—The Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania [MDUR] "regrets" the fact that the Assembly of Deputies in Hungary did not adopt the draft bill on the representation in the parliament of the national minorities.

A communique released on Monday [2 July] afternoon by the MDUR leadership and its parliamentary group reasserts the stand of the union which considers as "just and necessary the representation in the parliament of the minorities, of their organizations, respectively." "In this context, the communique reads inter alia, a democratic solution is offered by Romania's electoral law which assures the possibility of the representation in the parliament of the minorities which could not have obtained a mandate through direct ballot taking into consideration the small number of the citizens in the respective ethnic group." [quotation marks as received]

The communique "asks" Hungary's parliament to put again on the agenda this issue which "clearly refers to our nationality as well ensuring thus the possibility of all minorities in Hungary, of the Romanians included, to be represented in the legislative forum."

Industrial Cooperation Show Held With Yugoslavia

AU0107181690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1542 GMT 1 Jul 90

[Text] Bucharest, 1 Jul (ROMPRES)—An industrial show was organized in Timisoara jointly by the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Timisoara and the Chamber of Commerce of Vojvodina (Yugoslavia). It was participated in by over 60 industrial firms from that province and by other economic units of the neighbour country. It is the first action of the kind, meant to boost in conditions of perfect freedom the economic, technological, scientific and cultural collaboration between the two countries.

On the same occasion, a meeting took place in Timisoara between representatives of Vojvodina and of Timis County, where the mutual wish was reiterated to develop the cooperation between industrial enterprises in the frontier zone of the two countries, the collaboration in transport, environmental protection, cultural-artistic life of the Romanian minority in Vojvodina and Serbian minority in Timis County.

Goods Traffic on Danube-Black Sea Canal Rising

AU0307101790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0833 GMT 3 Jul 90

["Economy: Danube-Black Sea Canal Makes Profits"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, 3 Jul (ROMPRES)—The first half of 1990 concluded with an active balance for the Danube-Black Sea Canal administration. The traffic on the canal in this period consisted of 4,483,000 tons of goods iron ore, coal, cement, building materials, etc., which covers the expenses and leaves a profit of over three million lei, after paying off some credits.

Some new elements also emerged. The West-German firm Regensburg opened a transport line with 500 dwt and 1000 dwt ships, that carry metallurgical makes, timber, etc. The first ship of the line, "Orient-Express",with a capacity of 500 dwt has already sailed the canal several times. Another West German ship is expected to sail in the canal the next days.

Pursuant to the application of reasonable tariffs and to talks conducted with various export-import firms, the canal is expected to acommodate the traffic of ore from Brazil and Australia to Central Europe as well as the transport of modules and metallic structures of drilling platforms exported by the Czechoslovak concern Skoda.

A substantive rise in the goods traffic for the Romanian economy is expected, including the transport of imported raw materials for the iron-and-steel combines in Galati and Calarasi.

* Group for Social Dialogue on Unrest

90P20052A Bucharest "22" in Romanian 22 Jun 90 p 16

[Statement issued by the Group for Social Dialogue on 16 June; place not given]

[Text] The dead and wounded of 13-15 June in Bucharest are added to the dead and wounded of December, and to those of March in Tirgu Mures. The country is sliding on a slope of periodic shedding of blood. Bucharest has become the European capital of violence and of crime.The situation is so dramatic—we do not want to dramatize it any more. But we cannot remain silent in the face of the immense danger which the continuation of this sliding process would involve.

Confronted with this state of affairs, the Group for Social Dialogue feels that it is obliged to make the following statements:

1. The *raison d'etre* of the Group for Social Dialogue is to replace violence, the denial of the very essence of humanity, by dialogue, as the essence of democracy. Therefore, we express our indignation in regard to the chain of violent events launched during the morning of 13 June by the intervention of the police in University Square, which continued in the afternoon and during the following days.

2. We mourn the victims and the destruction which occurred. We demand the strict application of the laws against those who organized or executed these condemnable actions. We demand that justice, in accordance

with the principle of separation of powers in the state, act in complete objectivity, resisting any pressures to accredit scenarios set up on the basis of partisan political interests. Political confrontations between different power structures, between parties, factions or persons should not result in innocent victims in the streets or in the courts.

3. Our group condemns the incapacity, real or deliberate, of the legal authorities to carry out their social function of ensuring public order and it expresses its satisfaction with the removal of the minister of interior which it had been demanding repeatedly.

4. We are expressing our disagreement with the transfer of this vital function, reserved for legally constituted authorities, to large groups of private individuals brought to Bucharest for this purpose. A matter related to the very basis of law, without an equal in the Europe of our days, this procedure puts the entire country outside the law, at the discretion of the arbitrary and of excesses. The image of the miners armed with clubs and axes, molesting men and women, young and old, selected at random from among the passers-by on the main roads, will remain in the memory of our children and of civilized people as dark moments of this end of the century.

5. This operation—intended to restore public order—could only make the situation worse since:

a) The intervention of the miners took place at a moment when order was about to be restored, although with an unexplainable delay, by the forces of the law.

b) It responded to the illegal acts of violence of 13 June, initiated—according to official sources—by "unknown forces," by illegal acts of violence, initiated, beginning on 14 June, by the very government which was obliged to represent legality.

c) In ferreting out the persons responsible for the excesses of 13 June, it engaged in the indiscriminate repression of the population. The residents of the Capital, who rose up against the dictatorship, were terrorized in June, in the name of the defense of the Revolution, by people who were much less active in December. It is clear that the post-revolutionary government is seeking a different power base than that of the Revolution.

d) As one might expect, the intervention of the detachments of miners led not only to the continuing deterioration of law and order but also to the escalation of violence throughout.

6. While violence was often exercised blindly—something which, in itself, is very serious—the repressive actions of 14-15 June were directed in several principal directions, namely: against the opposition parties, the cultural and educational institutions, the independent organizations and associations, the press which criticized the government, intellectuals, students, gypsies.

a) The sacking of the offices of Television, the Ministry of the Interior and the Capital Police was responded to by the sacking of the headquarters of the National Liberal Party and the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party. Television, which depicted the destruction with legitimate indignation, did not exhibit even the slightest sign of disapproval when it showed the headquarters of the two parties which had been completely destroyed. This gave the impression that there are condemnable sackings and excusable, if not desirable, sackings. We are against all sackings since we think that they are invariably harmful, humiliating and condemnable. As if they had information which the state organs were not able to obtain over the course of more than 5 months, groups of miners, who had just gotten off their trains, discovered various types of evidence, weapons, drugs, and equipment for falsifying currency in the parties' headquarters. According to the official explanations, an Iron Guard-type rebellion was the reason for the intolerable actions of 13 June. This is an explanation which hides an obvious ideological maneuver, devoid of all credibility in the contemporary political context. The circumstances in which the so-called evidence was discovered, during the sacking of the headquarters of the two parties, cast doubt on the official explanation. The happenings suggest another possibility—the transition from the electoral defeat of the opposition to its suppression. A government which does not take the rights of the opposition into consideration will not respect the rights of the citizens. The group which is in power must not forget that one-third of the electorate did not want it.

b) Open hatred toward the students, aggression against many of them—beginning with the especially brutal attack on Marian Munteanu—the sacking of the University and of the Institute of Architecture, and the attacks on some secondary schools are some of the saddest aspects of this sad episode. Exalted in December, now the students are defamed. By the brutality exercised against them by the people upon whom they rely, the government which defines itself as the emanation of the Revolution is repressing the heroes of this Revolution.

c) Under circumstances which are known, the government broke with the intellectuals in January and, in June, it elevated this break to the level of a serious division in society, a division based on a profoundly retrograde prejudice which says that manual labor is morally and socially superior to the work of the intellect.

d) The 14 June Communique of the typesetters is nothing but the reappearance of a procedure of sad repute, that of disguised censorship, which threatens, among others, the Group for Social Dialogue. In the words of the Communique, the principle of freedom of the press continues to remain in force for Eugen Florescu, Eugen Barbu or Vadim Tudor but not for Petre Mihai Bacanu, Anton Uncu, Mihai Creanga or for the editors of the review "22."

e) Just like any action of an anti-democratic nature, the one to which we refer has a chauvinistic element. Based on a wholly offensive prejudice, the chauvinism in this case is directed against our gypsy fellow citizens.

According to the interpretation which is proposed to us, the gypsies supposedly represent the principal group from which Iron Guard elements are recruited. Deported by the fascists during the war, our gypsies are beaten today in the name of antifascism.

7. The international echo of these events is lamentable. Romanians abroad are all at sea. The governments with which we would like to improve relations do not hide their disappointment and public opinion, both in the East and in the West, appears to be sceptical about the future of a democratization process which began, immediately after the elections, with a general offensive against basic rights. Without a formal proclamation of martial law, the right to free association, property, free movement, freedom from bodily harm, inviolability of domicile, minority rights, freedom of the press, the right to political opposition and the right of a civil society to monitor the activity of the government and, when necessary, to criticize it, have been practically suspended, under the indifferent eyes of the Office of the Public Prosecutor and the Supreme Court.

The right of private individuals to sack residences and associations and to molest citizens as they wish vithout risking any legal sanction and even receiving official thanks has practically been legalized. In our opinion, monitoring of the government should not degenerate into its paralysis but, however, the government itself should guarantee rights without which a responsible monitoring of this type becomes impossible.

8. Expressing, once again, its disapproval and anxiety because of the replacement of the exchange of opinions by violence, the Group for Social Dialogue calls upon the government and the opposition, workers, intellectuals and students to construct together a climate of decency, legality and responsibility, a decisive condition for getting rid of the dangerous tensions which have accumulated in Romanian society.

16 June 1990

Signed by: Sorin Antohi, Calin Anastasiu, Thomas Kleininger, Sorin Vieru, Magda Carneci, Radu Filipescu, Victor Barsan, Mihai Sora, Ana Sincai, Florin-Gabriel Marculescu, Gabriel Andreescu, Sorin Marculescu, Anca Oroveanu, Pavel Campeanu, Radu Bercea, Andrei Cornea, Dan Arsenie, Dan Oprescu, Ihor Leminij, Smaranda Mezei.

The list remains open, for signing, to those who share this viewpoint.

*ROMANIA LIBERA on 'Moral Crisis'

90P20053A Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 19 Jun 90 p 1

[Unattributed article: "From the Golden Age to the Stone Age—A Serious Moral Crisis"]

[Text] Beginning on 13 June, the country and, in particular, the capital, has been faced with an especially serious situation. Bucharest and its citizens have been witnesses to scenes of unimaginable violence. The film of these scenes records moments which reveal the fact that the producers of the events which have been taking place since 21-22 December not only have a taste for the scenes of the country, aiming to keep them under the sinister control of terror, but also a serious indifference in regard to the lives of the people. It seems that no one cares about "that precious asset," the life of each person. The effects of the horrible spectacles in which we have been involved have been cynically weighed against this asset. Recapping the scenario of these sad days (13, 14, 15 June), which brought our country into a grave moral crisis, we should note that the first victims were the University Square demonstrators and the students. Moreover, the younger generation was most affected from December on since it became, first, the principal instrument for gaining power, with the largest number of victims in the Revolution, and then, the principal target for the repressions, as soon as it expressed its support for democracy. Taking up the chronological thread of the events of 13 June, after the police intervened both in University Square and the Institute of Architecture, there was the sacking by workers (or so-called workers) from the IMGB [Bucharest Heavy Machinery Enterprise],—a destruction which had among its victims students from the Institute of Architecture (and from other faculties), an action which is hard to understand and impossible to justify. Then there was the sacking of the Television offices, the fires at the Ministry of the Interior and the torching of a large number of police cars. What happened in these institutions was especially serious. We still do not know who organized these cold-blooded attacks. The massive arrests (more than 1,200) and the investigation which is under way will probably determine who were the instigators of these barbarous acts which led, among other things, to the utterance of epithets such as "Iron Guard rebellion," fascism, and others.

More serious is the fact that the attitude of some intellectuals and of some newspapers and reviews, accused of instigation and destabilization, is "identified" as a source of inspiration for these acts. This is a grave accusation, one which was taken up without any difficulty by other newspapers and, unfortunately, by the masses. In accordance with what has become a tradition, they called upon the miners again. Their third arrrival into Bucharest, this time armed, led to the generalization of the conflict. It is hard to understand how a social group (otherwise worthy of esteem like any other group) was chosen to represent the supreme court of order and decision in the capital. As a result of this strange investiture, the miners decided to ban our publication. They made threats. They sacked the headquarters of some faculties, some parties and private residences and they molested anyone they wanted to with unimaginable brutality. It is more than sad that the country was taken down the road of this frightful disunity which has led to fratricidal hatred, to savage battles among people who say that they love freedom.

The groups which attacked the Television offices and the Ministry of the Interior were composed, according to what has been said, of gypsies, parasites, etc. But what should we say about the atrocities committed by sensible people, by decent workers, such as miners, who terrorized the city, hitting women, children, students, intellectuals, newsmen, people with no other fault than the fact that they happened to be in the vicinity or they happened to have a different opinion. In the framework of this prolonged, extensive violence, the country has found itself in a serious moral crisis, the opposition has been virtuallly intimidated and the truth has been sequestered. A difficult period awaits us, which no one would have imagined on 22 December.

Slovene Assembly Declares Republic's Sovereignty

Initial Report

LD0207173790 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Text] We have just received news from the Slovene Assembly that it has endorsed the declaration on full sovereignty of the Slovene by a large majority. One hundred and seven deputies voted for the declaration, two were opposed, and three abstained.

Sovereignty Declaration

LD0207195290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1903 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 2 Jul (TANJUG)—At a joint session of all three chambers of the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia, a "Declaration of the State Sovereignty of the Republic of Slovenia" was adopted by 187 votes for, three against and two abstentions. Immediately upon its adoption, the president of the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia, Dr. France Bucar, formally proclaimed the declaration which, as stated at the beginning of the document, had been adopted:

"In accordance with the will of all political parties and groups of deputies represented in the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia."

Article one of the declaration says: "Proceeding from the Slovene nation's right to self-determination and in accordance with amendments 10, 11, 72 and 92 to the Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia and with the provisions of the International Treaty on Civil and Political Rights, the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia is proclaiming the sovereignty of the Republic of Slovenia."

Article two of the declaration states: "The political, economic and legal system of the republic of Slovenia is based on the constitution and laws of the republic of Slovenia. The SFRY Constitution, the federal laws, and other federal regulations will be valid on the territory of the Republic of Slovenia providing they do not conflict with the Constitution and the laws of the Republic of Slovenia."

Article three of the declaration states: "In accordance with the principle of state sovereignty and the principle of precedence of the Constitution and the laws of the Republic of Slovenia, the republic's organs and organizations on the territory of the Republic of Slovenia will function in accordance with the existing legal system in the Republic of Slovenia."

Article five of the declaraiton says: "The Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia will carry out the set procedure for adopting a new constitution of the Republic of Slovenia within a year."

In conclusion, article six says: "This declaration comes into force on the day it is adopted and formally proclaimed at a joint session of both chambers of the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia."

"The Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia charges the Executive Council of the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia to prepare, by the beginning of September at the latest, a proposed constitutional law establishing which federal laws, on the basis of this declaration, are not valid on the territory of the Republic of Slovenia," the final stance of the "Declaration on the State Sovereignty of the Republic of Slovenia" states.

In the ensuing discussion, delegate of the Chamber of Associated Labor Milan Aksentijevic said that the declaration "concerns all armed forces employees, because it proclaims that their status in this part of the SFRY is irregular." Aksentijevic said that those in the armed forces favor independence, but also favor an agreement on how to preserve the common homeland. He also said that the Slovene people have built a common state with other nations and that there is no reason why they should not work on developing new relations in a common homeland. Whether it will be federation or confederation, according to Aksentijevic, is the issue to be resolved by all interested parties in the homeland. Milan Aksentijevic proposed that normal constitutional procedure be observed when the declaration is being endorsed, and thanked the Assembly for providing him with an interpreter.

Dr. Rajko Pirnat voiced his disapproval because Aksentijevic, as the representative of the armed forces, which are also the armed forces of Slovenia, did not speak in Slovene and because he spoke about the issue which concerns the exercise of the sovereign rights of the Slovene nation.

Viktorija Potocnik proposed that in the spirit of the declaration, the Assembly endorse her proposal that the Slovene delegates in the SFRY Assembly's Federal Chamber do not attend sessions of that chamber in the future. Miran Potrc opposed this on behalf of the Slovene League of Communists-Party of Democratic Reform, claiming that precisely the contrary effect to the one envisaged by the declaration will ensue. Viktorija Potocnik's proprosal was endorsed, with 131 votes for, 49 against, and 21 abstentions.

Bucar Hails Initiative

LD0207222590 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2124 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 2 Jul (TANJUG)—"The adopted declaration on sovereignty of the state-republic of Slovenia expresses the united political will of the whole Assembly of Slovenia and marks a historic turning point and genuine first step towards the sovereignty of Slovenia," President of the Republican Assembly Dr France Bucar told journalists on Monday [2 July], immediately after the declaration was proclaimed.

Dr Bucar mentioned that the declaration was put on the agenda unexpectedly but by no means accidentally—the assembly as a channel for conveying public opinion was growing impatient because matters in Slovenia did not change quickly enough. The obstacle, he said, was the federal legal order, which was not adjusted to Slovenia's goals.

The assembly carried the declaration by acclamation, Dr Bucar pointed out.

Abolition of Federal Assembly Proposed

LD0307012690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2106 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 2 Jul (TANJUG)—The Socio-Political Chamber of the Slovene Assembly made its assent to the amendments to the SFRY Constitution conditional upon the adoption of a fresh amendment, proposing that the SFRY Assembly's Federal Chamber be abolished and its powers be transferred to the Chamber of Republics and Provinces.

Prior to this, a discussion was held in the course of which deputies of the ZSMS [Slovene Socialist Youth Federation]-Liberal Party and the Slovene League of Communists-Party of Democratic Reform stated that they were in favor of the adoption of amendments to the SFRY Constitution which were in line with orientations of the Slovene Assembly on new relations within Yugoslavia. It was proposed that after the declaration on sovereignty was endorsed, constitutional amendments be considered again by the Constitutional Commission of the Slovene Assembly. Neither proposals were accepted.

It was proposed in the Chamber of Associated Labor that the Constitutional Commission consider once again the constitutional amendments. The Chamber of Municipalities endorsed the Demos [United Opposition of Slovenia] proposal, making discussion on the amendments to the SFRY Constitution conditional upon the adoption of the amendment proposing that the Federal Chamber be abolished.

Pre-Declaration Discussion Reported

AU0307094390 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1330 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Janko Saradzen report from the Slovene Assembly—live]

[Excerpts] As I am reporting, the delegates are gathering to resume the joint session of the chambers of the Slovene Assembly. Until now, the delegates devoted most attention to a point that originally was not even on the agenda and was included for discussion at the joint session only after a vote. This is a proposal of 52 deputies from the Demos [United Oppositon of Slovenia] bloc that today, the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia should adopt a declaration on the full sovereignty of the state of the Republic of Slovenia. (Tone Persak), who submitted the proposal on behalf of 52 deputies, gave the reasons for the adoption of the declaration as the grave economic situation and possible social unrest, and the necessity that Slovenia should independently adopt economic and political decisions, and affirm the primacy of the republican Constitution over the federal. [passage omitted]

After a vote was taken to decide that the declaration was to be discussed and placed on the agenda, a lively discussion broke out and numerous questions were broached as to the nature of the declaration, whether it was a political or also a legal act entailing some consequences; whether such an important document should be adopted through regular procedure with expert explanations by the republican Executive Council, and the Constitutional and Legislative Commissions; whether it was right that a nationally important document be adopted by a majority vote rather than by acclamation. It is true that not all the parties participated in drafting it.

There were also some voices to the effect that the declaration should be adopted through a referendum. A question of principle was also raised: Was the Slovene Assembly at all empowered to adopt such a significant decision as a declaration on the full sovereignty of the state of the Republic of Slovenia, or was it only competent to regulate the procedure for the adoption?

The Demos bloc insisted that it was a political decision which had no legal consequences yet, that it was high time for such a step, and that all the legal consequences would anyhow pass the regular procedure. One of the reasons for the adoption of the declaration was that the present Slovene government cannot adopt any decisive measures because it is too much restricted by the present federal legal system.

The proposal was also heard that the Slovene delegates to the Federal Chamber should no longer attend the SFRY Assembly sessions.

As I am reporting, the session has been suspended because the opposition deputies were granted a break so party caucuses could meet and adopt stands on the proposed declaration of the full sovereignty of the state of the Republic of Slovenia.

Republic's Status Viewed

AU0207153190 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Text] [Announcer] The Slovene Government today handed to the delegates of all the chambers of the republican assembly the text of its program directives which give prominence to the full sovereignty of Slovenia with a confederal status in Yugoslavia. The discussion on this document is planned for the next session of the parliament which will, judging by everything, be held on 18 July. Here is a report by Relja Atanasijevic:

[Atanasijevic] The state sovereignty of Slovenia, as was (?envisaged) by the program of the government of the Christian Democrat Lojze Peterle, assumes a fully autonomous and independent legal system, the precedence of republican acts over federal acts, its own state administration, own system of public finance, an independent foreign policy, and its own public information system.

Slovenia's complete independence in the field of defense and the armed forces draws particular attention. So does the statement that in the future the Slovene authorities should be in charge of all armed forces in their republic. The government also wants to reduce military expenditure by 30 percent and hand over the protection of the Slovene borders to the police force.

The Slovene Government also plans to organize the Slovene intelligence and counterintelligence services which would be accountable to the republican Assembly and Presidency.

These are the most important elements of the program directives made not only from the point of view of a confederal Slovenia, but also of a confederal Yugoslavia. The republican government is of the opinion that this could be achieved in two ways: The first proceeds from the assumption that the federation should cease to exist, while the other assumes a confederal agreement between the sovereign states of Yugoslavia. This formula is considerably simplified because both variants require an agreement of all interested parties whose views on the confederation are different.

As known, there is a view that a confederal organization of Yugoslavia would have very serious repercussions.

Albanians Declare Kosovo 'Independent Unit'

AU0207142590 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1315 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Text] [Announcer] In front of locked doors of the Kosovo Assembly building, ethnic Albanian delegates today adopted a constitutional declaration in which they declare Kosovo to be an independent unit [nezavisna jedinica] in the Yugoslav community, equal to other republics. Here is a report from Pristina by Milivoje Mihajlovic:

[Mihajlovic] The constitutional declaration that 114 ethnic Albanian delegates hurriedly proclaimed in front of the Kosovo Assembly building says that it is the basic constitutional stance of the population of the province and an act of political self-determination. The delegates proclaimed Kosovo to be an independent unit in Yugoslavia, equal to other republics. It is said that the confirmation of this decision in the Yugoslav Constitution is now awaited and its recognition by the Yugoslav and international public expected.

By this document, the Albanians, it is said, as a majority population and one of the largest ethnic groups in Yugoslavia, consider themselves to be a people, that is, a nation, just as the Serbs are, and not a nationality or a national minority.

Until this constitutional declaration is finally legally adopted, the Kosovo Assembly and the organs of power in the province will regulate relations in Yugoslavia on the basis of the current Federal Constitution.

The ethnic Albanian delegates have at the same time annulled last year's decision of the Provincial Assembly by which it gave its consent to the amendments to the Serbian Constitution.

Until a new Kosovo constitution is adopted, it was said today, the province will bear the name of Kosovo alone, without the attribute, socialist autonomous province.

This declaration was adopted unanimously and was read by delegate Muharem Sabani.

Ethnic Albanian delegates arrived in front of the Kosovo Assembly building a little before 1000 [0800 GMT]. They insisted upon being allowed to enter the parliament building, but that was refused with the explanation that Assembly President Djordje Bozovic had convened the session for 5 July. Groups of delegates held negotiations with the Assembly officials and the Provincial Premier Jusuf Zejnulahu several times.

In the meantime, about 200 curious on-lookers gathered and dispersed only after they were warned by the security organs.

Three members of the International League for People's Rights and Freedoms, Movement Against Racism and for Friendship Among Peoples were also among the delegates. (Jela Brandley)—introduced by (Ljuljete Pulja), one of the leaders of the Kosovo alternative movements, as an expert on international law from the United States—also attracted the attention of numerous Yugoslav and foreign journalists.

The entire event was followed by several television teams, three of them from the Pristina Television Center. About 10 minutes after the declaration was promulgated, Pristina Radio Program in Albanian carried the recording of its adoption.

It is obvious that the ethnic Albanian delegates, just as it has been announced for months already, today practically proclaimed Kosovo Republic, although the mention of the term was skillfully avoided in the declaration.

Although it is still early to speak about reactions to this act, it seems that the main dilemma even among the Albanian people is to what extent can this declaration be considered legitimate, because it was promulgated by ethnic Albanian delegates alone and under completely unlawful circumstances. Another question is whether this act was not a kind of a long-prepared (?putsch) in the Kosovo Assembly hurriedly carried out with a view to preventing the adoption of a new Serbian constitution.

Shabani Reads Declaration

AU0207210490 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 2000 GMT 2 Jul 90

["Constitutional declaration" approved by delegates of the Kosovo Assembly, read by Muharrem Shabani, delegate to the Chamber of Associated Labor of the Kosovo Assembly, "in front of the closed doors of the Assembly building" in Pristina on 2 July—recorded]

[Text] On the basis of the desire strongly expressed throughout Kosovo by the majority of the Kosovo population, a desire also expressed in the Declaration of the Kosovo Academy of Sciences and Arts on the new constitutional position of Kosovo, and on the basis the role and position of the Kosovo Assembly, as the highest representative and constitutional body of the state and [word indistinct] in Kosovo, the Assembly of Kosovo formally announces:

The constitutional declaration of Kosovo as an independent and equal entity [njesi e pavarur dhe e barabarte] in the framework of the Yugoslav federation-confederation and an equal subject with other entities in the federation-confederation.

Article One: This declaration expresses the primary constitutional stand of the Kosovo population, and of this Assembly as an (?act) of their political will within the framework of Yugoslavia.

Two: This assembly, by declaring, at this level, Kosovo as an equal entity in Yugoslavia, on the basis of the principles of authentic democracy and respecting the will of the people and their human national communities, expects the confirmation of this constitutional act to be entered in the Constitution of Yugoslavia with the full support of democratic opinion in Yugoslavia and the international public.

Three: This assembly, and Kosovo with its new constitutional position, [passage indistinct] in which the Albanians as the majority of the Kosovo population and one of the largest ethnic groups in Yugoslavia, like the Serbs and others in Kosovo, are to be considered a people and nation rather than a nationality or mere national minority.

Four: Meanwhile, until the law-governed state enables this constitutional act, the Assembly and state organs of Kosovo rely on the current Constitution of Yugoslavia for the conduct of their relations with the constitutional order of Yugoslavia, and not on the amendments to the Serbian Constitution of 1989. On this occasion, the decisions of the Assembly of Kosovo of 23 March 1989, agreeing to these amendments, are annulled. [applause]

On this occasion, the Kosovo Assembly will embark on (?drafting) a constitution of Kosovo after a [words indistinct], relying on the [words indistinct] of Kosovo alone. [applause]

Pristina, 2 July 1990. The declaration is signed by 114 delegates of the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo.

Move Welcomed by Kosovars

AU0207183590

[Editorial Report] Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian at 1700 GMT on 2 July devotes 31 minutes of its extended 39-minute newscast to reports relating to the "constitutional declaration" of "Kosovo's full status in the Yugoslav federation or confederation" issued by Kosovo Assembly delegates on 2 July. Reception is poor.

In an opening news summary, the announcer states: "The Albanian people are faced with a serious situation," requiring "patience." The announcer praises "the Albanians' cultured and dignified behavior so far," and states that they desire "sincere togetherness with other peoples. The Assembly's decision today was therefore welcomed by all branches and sub-branches of the Democratic Alliance and the Youth Parliament throughout Kosovo."

The block of news begins with a report on "the session of the Kosovo Assembly," held in the square in front of the locked Kosovo Assembly building. In a recording, the delegate Muharrem Shabani is heard reading the declaration of Kosovo "as an independent and equal unit in the Yugoslav Federation." Shabani's statement that Kosovo recognizes "the current constitution of Yugoslavia, and not the amendments in the Serbian Constitution of 1989" is greeted with applause. Shabani states that the declaration is signed by 114 delegates.

The announcer states that Jusuf Zejnullahu, president of the Kosovo Executive Council, received a group of six delegates, but "Journalists were not informed of the content of the talks."

The delegates are reported as appealing to the people of Kosovo "to retain their cool heads and behave in a dignified manner, as hitherto, and to avoid all possible provocations."

The decision of the Serbian Executive Council that "there is no legal basis" for annulling the 1989 constitutional amendments, and promising "relevant measures of the rule of law" is then reported.

The newscast continues with reports from correspondents in twelve Kosovo towns, citing many branches of the Democratic Alliance, Youth Parliament, and independent trade unions as welcoming the Assembly's "historic decision" which "fulfills the demands of all the people." The people in Podujevo and Lipljan are reported as listening to the news on Radio Pristina, and welcoming it "in a dignified way," while life in villages round Pristina "resumed its normal course at once." Alternative groups are also reported as welcoming the statement of SFRY Presidency member Riza Sapunxhiu supporting the principle of a new Kosovo constitution.

TANJUG is cited on the conduct of the Serbian referendum in Serbia and the boycott of Albanian electors.

Serbian Assembly To Counter Albanian 'Violence'

LD0207163690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1611 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Jul (TANJUG)—At a session today the Executive Council of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Serbia was informed about an attempt by a group of delegates of Albanian nationality, outside the assembly procedure and in contravention of the set agenda, to adopt a declaration under which Kosovo would be recognized as a state; this would cancel a previous approval of the amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia in 1989. The declaration has no legal grounds, nor is it legally binding.

In a statement released after the session, the Executive Council notes this was yet another example of political violence being perpetrated by Albanian nationalists and separatists, which will be countered by appropriate measures as prescribed by the rule of law.

Serbs Want Assembly Dissolved

AU0307102190 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 3 Jul 90

[Text] The citizens of Kosovo Polje demand that the Serbian leadership and the Serbian Assembly that it consistently apply the law on the work of the republican organs under special circumstances. Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo Polje demand that the Kosovo Assembly and all its organs be immediately dissolved, and all ethnic Albanian delegates be recalled from the republican and federal organs, above all, Riza Sapundziju, member of the SFRY Presidency.

The participants in the meeting held in Kosovo Polje have set up a committee which will coordinate the activities of Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo and Metohija and decide whether it is necessary for them to self-organize [samoorganizovati] themselves.

Voting Figures in Serbian Referendum Reported

LD0207112590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0944 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Jul (TANJUG)—The results after the first day may suggest that the referendum in Serbia has been successful since the latest figure shows that 3,689,314 voters, or 61 percent, had cast their votes by yesterday evening when the polling stations closed. In Serbia proper 2,747,992 voters, or 65 percent, had voted; in Vojvodina 866,882 or 58 percent; while Kosovo's figure was lowest at 74,444 or 24 percent. In Belgrade yesterday and today by 1000 (0800 GMT) 677,150 citizens, or 59.30 percent, had voted. The highest turnout has been registered in the suburban municipalities. More than one-half of the voters showed up at all other polling stations.

Albanian Turnout 'Very Poor'

LD0107172190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1447 GMT 1 Jul 90

[Text] Pristina, 1 Jul (TANJUG)—Pristina'a RILINDJA today sent its own "appeal" to citizens of the Albanian nationality in Kosovo via a cartoon, in other words, a warning as to what awaits them if the referendum returns a "yes" answer on the adoption of a new Serbian constitution.

On the front page of this Albanian language organ, there is a cartoon called "Serbia '90"—a ballot box is portrayed as a trap propped open by a stick to which a piece of string is attached.

After this "appeal" and the demand—repeated many times—of the Kosovo alternative opposition for a boycott, the very poor turnout of voters of the Albanian nationality in the referendum is perhaps clearer.

[Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian at 1017 GMT on 1 July transmits a short item on the referendum turnout. TANJUG reports the following on the poor turnout of Albanians: "As early as 0700, some citizens of Kosovo hurried to the polling stations to vote on the proposal of the Serbian Presidency for the adoption of the new republican constitutions. These were mainly Serbs, Montenegrins, as well as members of the non-Albanian nationalities, but it is obvious that in the early morning hours there was a poor turnout of Albanians."]

76-Percent Participation Reported

LD0307093790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0639 GMT 3 Jul 90

[Text] Belgrade, 3 Jul (TANJUG)—In the two-day referendum in the Socialist Republic of Serbia, a total of 5,084,162 citizens, or 76 percent of the total (?number) of 6,550,000 registered voters, turned out to vote. The turnout was highest in Serbia proper, with 86 percent of voters; in Vojvodina, 78 percent; while in Kosovo, on the basis of data from 21 of the total number 29 municipalities, 25 percent of the electorate voted.

It is expected that the first unofficial results of the referendum will be known today.

Pekic: Communists Would Lose Serbian Elections

LD0207163190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1055 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Text] Split, July 2 (TANJUG)—"The communists would lose multiparty elections if they were to be held in the Republic of Serbia now," author and vice-president of the Serbian Democratic Party Borislav Pekic has stated to the Split dialy SLOBODNA DALMACIJA.

Pekic feels that, if the democratic or some other opposition party was to win power in Serbia, Serbia would enjoy a greater trust of international financial circles than the communists and even Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic do now.

Pekic recalled that the opposition meant to run as a coalition in multiparty elections in Serbia, which have not been scheduled yet.

Pre-Referendum Situation in Kosovo Reported

'Special Circumstances' Produce Calm

AU0207201290 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Jun 90 p 3

[M. Antic report: "Somewhat Dangerous Peace"]

[Excerpts] Pristina—Exactly what the proclamation of special circumstances in Kosovo will exactly mean is yet to be seen. In any case, their application, which is already in force, will depend on the extent to which the situation in the province deteriorates. Or vice verse. What is evident at present is that the situation concerning interethnic relations in the southern province is on the verge of clashes which must be prevented at any cost.

According to Albanian language media, it appears that nobody in Kosovo is presently concerned about everyday problems and that Albanians are preoccupied with only one question: the status of the province, or to be more precise, Kosovo's autonomy within the Socialist Republic of Serbia and Yugoslavia, and, as here already openly referred to, the Kosovo state.

This issue is devoted dozens of pages in newspapers and considerable time on radio and television. There are numerous news and reports about alleged meetings in even the smallest villages heralding the demand for "the realization of the people's will." However, it was only yesterday, after we demanded of some leaders of alternative parties in Kosovo that they tell us something about these meetings—about which we would like to report—that we learned that these meetings were in fact held by the immediate leaderships of ten or so newly founded political parties in Kosovo, which are otherwise single nationality parties, and the leaderships of several hundred of branches of these alternative organizations which have so far only been informing the Albanian language media about their activities. We have also learned that in the most cases there were no meetings, and that the leaders of these branches have been giving statements to journalists "on behalf of the people."

The whole of yesterday in Kosovo was marked in this light. Albanian language media carried hundreds of reports that Albanians want their own republic, that they oppose the decision of the Socialist Republic of Serbia concerning the adoption of a new constitution, that they reject Slobodan Milosevic's speech as hegemonistic, that they do not accept the declaration of special circumstances, and that they demand that their delegates in the Kosovo Assembly adopt as soon as possible a new constitution of the province which would render Kosovo autonomous in the federation, or in a possible confederation. [passage omitted]

As regards the declaration of special circumstances, so far there has not been any official reaction from the provincial organs to whom these circumstance mainly refer. [passage omitted]

All in all, on the surface, the situation appears to be calm. However, in enterprises and even on the streets the people are segregated according to their nationality. What is particularly dangerous are the divisions in some state organs and institutions and the fact that the danger is somehow hanging in the air, because, in addition to all existing contradictions in Kosovo, Albanian separatists are almost every day calling Albanians to "the decisive battle." The situation is extremely politicized, but one must hope that reason will prevail and that all open political and other issues will be resolved in a democratic way in legal political forums.

Press Protests Assembly Suspension

AU2906111990 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 23 Jun 90 p 7

[B. Stavileci commentary: "Antidemocratic Scenario"]

[Excerpts] What happened at the dramatic two-day meeting of the Kosovo Assembly on Wednesday and Thursday [20 and 21 June] was an unprecedented act, at least in world parliamentary practice in the last few decades. The behavior of Djordje Bozovic as president in suspending the meeting twice without asking the delegates, while being aware of the desire and determination of the majority of the delegates to continue the dialogue and the meeting, cannot be considered as anything but a totally arbitrary, intolerant, and arrogant act showing a lack of readiness to conduct democratic dialogue and to solve problems on this basis. [passage omitted]

In the long and unnecessary intervals announced by the chair, sometimes even on signs given from the seats in the Assembly occupied by guests, many delegates stressed that it must now be clear to the whole world, if it is not already, in precisely whose hands power (political and otherwise) and the state actually rest, even though we continue to hear trumpeted promises about how the Albanians in Kosovo enjoy full status and all rights and freedoms in every field of life and work!

That the true situation differs from what it is declared to be was also shown by some Serbian and Montenegrin delegates' occupying the rostrum (twice) in the solemn hall of the Assembly's meetings immediately after the arbitrary suspensions. Although a minority, they showed no compunction in surrounding the rostrum according to a planned scenario in order to prevent the meeting continuing. Of course, the scenario of occupying the rostrum allows one to realize that both the course of the meeting and its suspensions were planned and prepared beforehand, even though Bozovic two or three times categorically denied that he personally was following a prearranged scenario. What is strange is that, besides Serbian and Montenegrin delegates and two or three Muslims, several guests also joined the "guard" round the rostrum, including some presidents of communal assemblies (Vera Tepavcevic-Aleksic, Milan Djurinac, etc.); Dr. Mirko Perunovic, dean of the Pristina Law Faculty (who is a member of the Constitutional Commission, but not a delegate); some Serbian and Montenegrin members of the Provincial Executive Council; and for a short time even Ljubo Popovic, secretary of the Kosovo League of Communists Provincial Committee; Zivorad Igic, president of Presidium of the Kosovo Socialist Alliance of Working People Provincial Committee; Momcilo Trajkovic, and other guests, some of whom were even permitted to violate the rules of procedure by joining the discussion of the agenda, something which is not allowed!

This clear desire to prevent and block the meeting of the Assembly indicated that every decision of the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo is legitimate and legally incontestable, even though, for instance, the Serbian Assembly Executive Council, immediately after the decision of the Chamber of Associated Labor to annul the laws on integration, hastened without any grounds to declare this an illegal decision! Despite the convictions of some official bodies in Serbia, and in Kosovo also, that any decision made by the Provincial Assembly without the participation of Serbian and Montenegrin delegates is invalid and illegitimate, the very fact that the rostrum was placed under occupation, the further course of the meeting was prevented, and a guard was mounted purely to prevent the meeting continuing, is an admission that every decision made in this Assembly carries weight and meets a powerful response in Yugoslav and international public opinion.

In this case, the Albanian delegates once again demonstrated that they have no intention of giving way to pressure and impositions of various kinds, that they do not dare to toy with the fate of their own people, that they are in favor of equality, togetherness, and a solution (in the new provincial constitution which will satisfy the interests of all the peoples and nationalities in the province), and that they are committed to Yugoslavia, regardless of whether it will have a federal or confederal structure. Like the entire Albanian population, they stressed that they do not want division and segregation, that they have nothing against other peoples, and that they are in favor of a common life, but also want democracy, free elections, and a completely equal status with equal rights and freedoms, in other words nothing more or less than what everybody else in Yugoslavia enjoys today. Of course, the guarantee for this must be genuine and full autonomy, which must be reinforced both by the new SFRY Constitution and that of the Socialist Republic of Serbia. [passage omitted]

Kosovo Propaganda Media War Alleged

AU0307075190 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Jun 90 p 2

[Milos Antic commentary: "An Absurdity Is Not Resolved with An Absurdity"]

[Text] Has one of the special forms of war already begun in Kosovo or does someone nevertheless only want to portray the situation as such?—This is a question that should not be unimportant for Yugoslavia at the moment.

The only thing that can be said with certainty is that an open propaganda-psychological conflict is now under way, which was begun a few months ago by the Albanian language media which overnight publicly put itself at the service of those who are fighting for Kosovo as the second Albanian state in the Balkans. In short, the Albanians are openly inciting a "general uprising" because "we can no longer allow other people to decide our fate." The message is coming "from all sides" through the media " that Kosovo both in a federation and possibly a confederation wants to be independent," or more precisely, "does not want to be in Serbia." It is being made known that "Kosovo is Albanian because two million Albanians live in it." And in particular they say: "Anyone who would dare to conquer Kosovo will get a response from the people."

Albanian media reporters are to be found in Berlin, New York, Washington, Geneva, and Ljubljana, anywhere where support is extended to the aforementioned "all-people's demands," so that they can mobilize people to "embark on a decisive battle." War has been declared on the enemy several times, an enemy who is presented to the ordinary Albanian in the form of Serbia and the Serbian people.

On the other hand, the Serbo-Croatian media in the province have, also through numerous commentaries, articles, and reports, responded sharply to all this, telling the Albanians and those who are leading them into bloodshed that they are a "national minority," that "they are living on the soil of the Serbian state," that "they cannot have a state within a state," that "Serbia and especially Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo will not give up Kosovo at any price," so that a commentary in yesterday's Pristina JEDINSTVO penned by the chief and responsible editor responded in the following way to "all the gauntlets that have been thrown down:

"Until they achieve their (Albanian) awareness, it is good for them to be aware of some more things. Therefore, we must for once become open. Since they have bowed en masse to their nationalist leadership and the secessionist movement which is preparing an armed struggle against the Serbs and Serbia, let them know that if they want war, they will get it. And what a war. Let them be sure that from 1945 until the present day the people of Serbia have never been more prepared, either psychologically or morally, to defend and protect the integrity of their territory that was usurped in peacetime, just as they defended their territory and the right to their own future in 1804, 1878, 1912, and 1941 Why beat about the bush, if it should come to this, let them know that the people of Serbia are ready. Let they themselves estimate what will happen after all that. Let history be their teacher because it is good that they know that Slovenia and Croatia will certainly not go to war for them (as they have not even done this for themselves) and no one else can help them. No one will give them what they want on a plate any longer, as has been the case up until now. They will have to sacrifice themselves."

They can begin immediately. The people of Serbia are ready."

So, things have gone this far. According to the media, the war has begun, that is to say the war can begin. Both sides are ready.

Is Yugoslavia ready to prevent all this or perhaps it thinks that these are quite normal propaganda games. Or will it even allow itself one more "surprise": For blood to flow before certain measures are taken. To allow a situation to become absurd and then to resolve it with an absurdity is more than absurd.

Independent Kosovo TV Congress Convened

LD3006205390 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1723 GMT 30 Jun 90

[Text] Djakovica, Yugoslavia, 30 Jun (TANJUG)—At their founding congress today, the United Independent Trade Unions of the Yugoslav Province of Kosovo came out in favour of "full subjectivity of Kosovo" and urged that ethnic Albanians, the majority population in the province, be given the status of nation.

The founding congress was attended by 420 delegates and 200 guests, which included most of the leaders of Kosovo alternative parties and movements.

The president of the Initiative Committee of Independent Trade Unions of Kosovo, Professor Dr Hajrulah Gorani, said the trade unions were founded as a "result of resistance of all workers, especially ethnic Albanians, to the arbitration of state authorities in Kosovo," quoting many "cases" of mistreatment of ethnic albanian employees.

Gorani qualified this as an act of arrogance on behalf of the party state, which strives to preserve its privileges by using all means of a "legal state."

Gorani said there would be no stabilization in the country unless Kosovo was granted full subjectivity in Yugoslavia's state system and unless three milion ethnic Albanians were given the status of a nation.

Kosovo Serbs Reportedly Plan To Form 'Squads'

AU0307080590 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 26 Jun 90 p 8

[Z. Gecaj commentary: "The 'Peony' Action To Form Armed Units—Who Is Playing With Fire?"]

[Text] What is the meaning of the decision of the "Peony" Association to form "flying squads," to be organized with the consultation and help of the security services and the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] under the pretext that an "armed Albanian uprising" should not find them unprepared? Does not this step specifically mean the embarking of a conflict of unprecedented dimensions, recalling the "flying squads" of the old Chetniks which undertook special assignments on Albanian territory in Ottoman times, the voluntary Chetnik units for the "fight against outlaws" in prewar Yugoslavia, Captain Mitrovic's Chetnik units during the National Liberation War, and the "bands" in the pre-Brioni period [before 1966]?.

In Kosovo, not even the "Peony" Association, the protectors of the Serbs and Montenegrins, can surprise anybody any more. Nothing remains secret; everything is in the open. The scenario of the Serbian and Montenegrin "solidarity meetings," the demands for imprisonments, resignations, dismissals, the expulsion of 300,000 immigrants, the unification of "three-part Serbia," weapons, and the colonization of Kosovo are now being fleshed out and made a reality.

The recent meeting of the "Peony" branch in Obilic concluded that "there is no point in waiting for any kind of cooperation or help from the Albanians in stabilizing the difficult situation, because the Albanians have become extremely homogenized and have identified themselves with the aims of the Kosovo Alternative and other spokesmen of false democracy." The "Peony" Association also "calls on all Albanians not to toy any longer with the Serbs and Montenegrins, because their patience is at an end, and if their personal security remains in danger...revanchism will be inevitable and reasonable."

The meeting was united in view that the "Peony" Association has only one purpose, which is to defend the interests of the Serbian and Montenegrin population to the last ounce of their strength. Under the pretext of "fear of a possible armed Albanian uprising," which could find them unprepared, the "Peony" Association decided to form what are called "flying squads," armed units ready to go into action at the right time, which will be formed with the consultation and help of the security services and the YPA.

What can be said about this? Whatever one wants, but the truth remains that the formation of specialized armed units of Serbs and Montenegrins means that the Kosovo crisis enters into the phase of civil war, with unpredictable dimensions and consequences not only for Kosovo and Serbia, but for Yugoslavia and beyond.

Regardless of the excuses which warmongering propaganda adapts to its current political goals, the creation of armed Serbian and Montenegrin units, involving even the help of the security services and the YPA, means an enforcement of a policy of occupation and conquest familiar from world history. It means at the same time acting on the demand of "We want weapons," constantly heard for the last three years at all the rallies of Serbs and Montenegrins held throughout Yugoslavia, as well as the warmongering call, "Let us go to Kosovo." This is the only possible course of events for the "Serbian option for Kosovo," and follows the measures which have been undertaken hitherto: differentiation, isolation, imprisonment, mistreatment, the injuring and killing of Albanians, the de facto elimination of Kosovo's autonomy, the removal of a range of competences from state organs, economic bodies, social and educational authorities, and so forth. The suspension of the Kosovo Secretariat for Internal Affairs and the assumption of all its authority by the Serbian Secretariat for Internal Affairs must also be seen in this context.

The formation of "flying squads" of Serbs and Montenegrins is merely a higher form of the organization of "armed village guards" in other settlements inhabited by Serbs and Montenegrins which were organized for "self-defense," and which even appeared openly on television equipped with whole arsenals of weaponry, the origin of which nobody questioned.

There is an evident similarity between these armed brigades "ready to act when the need arises" and the "flying units" of the old Chetniks which operated on Albanian territory in Ottoman times, which were famous for massacring innocent people. There is also an evident similarity to the "flying units" of Kosta Pecanac, Sava Batara, Milic Krsta, and other so-called "anti-outlaw" units which terrorized the population in prewar Yugoslavia, just as there is also a great similarity to the Chetnik unit of Captain Mitrovic, which operated in Kosovo during World War II. This merely illustrates the continuity of a definite policy toward the Albanians, and a definite Serbian option regarding Kosovo, which is increasingly reviving and acquiring impetus. The openly-stated fact that these "flying squads" will be helped and trained by the security services and the YPA is astonishing, for these have up till now been considered as organs belonging to all the peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia and not just the Serbs and Montenegrins....

As always, the Albanians on this occasion will also overcome every difficulty, will perhaps cope even with these "flying squads," and have the task of emerging victorious, regardless of the sacrifice. They have no other alternative, because they are faced with a life-and-death struggle for their very existence as a nation and as people—and for their very presence on this territory. Storms come and go, and this one can be seen from afar and requires no special reconnaissance.

It is a fact that the "Peony" Association has continually been producing such initiatives since it was first formed. They are not new and are not surprising. The "Peonyites" stated something similar at one of their meetings on 31 March when, as the report in the Sarajevo paper OSLOBODJENJE states, they announced that the lists for taking up arms and preparing for a state of war had been well checked by professional commissions and associations, although it was also said at the meeting that these mobilized ranks must wait, because the state must for the moment ensure order and peace. Thus, the "Peony" Association was thinking about "flying squads" and the mobilization of special bands even at the time when Kosovo was under the emergency measures of the SFRY Presidency. What is new in last week's statement to the public is the fact that the security services and the YPA have become involved in helping this operation.

It is well known that this "Peony" statement was published on 21 June, in other, words five days after that of the Socialist Republic of Serbia security services stating that they were "watching" everything in Kosovo now, while the organs of the YPA did not deny that they would enter joint operations with or help the "Peonyites'" "flying squads." Thus the silence of the Secretariat for Internal Affairs and the YPA is incomprehensible and sows needless confusion, at a time when the "Peony Association" is threatening the entire Albanian population in Kosovo with fictions concerning "bloody Tuesday" [alleged plan for Albanian violence in February 1990], "bloody orgies," "terrorist campaigns," and now the alleged "outbreak of an armed uprising" which is bursting into the "well-informed" Serbo-Croatian media in Kosovo and the Belgrade press. It is now absolutely clear who is inciting war in Kosovo, while the absolute majority of the Albanian populace is oriented toward a peaceful and democratic untying of the Kosovo knot through the inauguration of genuine dialogue. But it is now more than clear that democratic dialogue with a confrontation of arguments and the solution of the Kosovo problem in this way does not suit some people. Now that the militia and the YPA are invited to train the "Peony" Association, the voices of the Federal Executive Council and the SFRY Presidency are more necessary than ever, because, when the Albanian populace were demonstrating in the streets, these two organs pointed out that this made the solution of problems through dialogue more difficult. Now that the Albanians have created conditions for dialogue, their silence is truly senseless.

Appeal for Serbia, Montenegro Unification

LD0207163790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0933 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Jul (TANJUG)—The interrepublican assembly of the movement for the unification of Serbia and Montenegro has sent a public appeal to the Assemblies of these two republics with the request that an all-people's referendum be held on 26th November this year on the unification of Serbia and Montenegro into a united state.

In the document, which was sent to editorial boards on behalf of the movement by its chairman, Milenko Ribic, it is stressed that "a working name" of the federation being proposed might be "Serbia and Montenegro."

The interrepublican assembly of the movement at the same time appeals to all citizens of Montenegro and Serbia and to their cultural, political and other associations to express, by joining the movement, the—as they see it—historical aspiration of the two nations for unification into a united state. In this way, they say there would be confirmation of the fact that all the conditions for eliminating the Josip Broz personality cult and the cult of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and our socialist revolution, as the last obstacles in the path of the final unification of the two republics, have matured—the appeal of the movement stresses.

In this connection, Ribic also sent an open letter to the public and to Novak Kilibarda, chairman of the National Party in Montenegro, which provides the information that the movement for the unification of Serbia and Montenegro has nothing in common with the party plan: After Tito—Tito, and after Yugoslavia—Yugoslavia, and thus, obviously, nothing in common either with the activity and program of the National Party.

Association of Serbs in Croatia Founded

LD2906022690 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2328 GMT 28 Jun 90

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Jun (TANJUG)—A supra-party association of Serbs from Croatia was set up in Belgrade this evening in the presence of some 4,000 people. The association's objective is to assist and support Serbs living in Croatia.

Dejan Medakovic, member of the Serbian Academy of Sciences, was unanimously elected president of the association.

The meeting was addressed among others by leader of the Serb Democratic Party of Knin (Croatia) Jovan Raskovic. Raskovic emphasized that Serbs in Croatia will fight for the establishment of their autonomous units, in order to return the lost rights to their language, Cyrillic alphabet and cultural institutions.

Raskovic said that his party advocates freedom for each man and sovereignty of all citizens, but that it is against ethnic sovereignty, since it limits the existence of smaller ethnic groups, such as Serbs in Croatia.

Raskovic added that Serbs in Croatia do not want conflicts, but talks, but said that they fear the Croatian Democratic Union, the centre-right party which ousted the Communists at the recent elections in Croatia.

With the help of the association, the Serbs in Croatia will gain additional strength to fight off various pressures, which are mounting, Raskovic concluded.

Serbs account for 600,000 of the 4.5 million Croatian population.

In Belgrade, there are currently around 300,000 Serbs who came from Croatia during or after World War Two.

Montenegrin Communists Leave Democratic Forum

LD3006041490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1624 GMT 29 Jun 90

[Excerpt] Titograd, 29 Jun (TANJUG)—The Montenegrin League of Communists Central Committee Presidium today left the Democratic Forum, an interparty body which for half a year now has been in existence in this Republic.

It did this because of the Forum's failure to take a clear stand regarding the physical attack on Branko Kostic, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Montenegro, in Cetinje last week. [passage omitted]

'People's Democratic Forum of Istria' Founded

LD3006061990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1907 GMT 29 Jun 90

[Excerpt] Pazin, 29 Jun (TANJUG)—Today a nonparty organization dedicated to considering and resolving Istria's cultural, economic, and social problems, the People's Democratic Forum of Istria, was launched into this peninsula's political scene. The Forum's principal aim is, it was pointed out at the founding assembly in the Memorial Hall of Unification and Freedom in Pazin, to contribute to Istria's development in all areas. Every citizen, regardless of their national, religious, or other affiliations, can take part in the forum's work. [passage omitted]

'Serbian Cetnik Movement' Branch Formed

LD3006203590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1341 GMT 30 Jun 90

[Excerpt] Valjevo, 30 Jun (TANJUG)—A meeting was held today in the hall of Culture in Valjevo to mark the founding of its local branch of the Serbian Cetnik Movement [Srpski Cetnicki Pokret]. Vojislav Selj [head of the movement] addressed a hundred or so supporters and curious onlookers in his patented way, using this opportunity to attack once gain the Communists and Josip Broz [Tito] and to extol the Cetnik Movement and the Cetnik leader, Draza Mihajlovic. Cetnik songs were sung at the meeting. [passage omitted]

'Neo-Communist Movement' Established

LD3006210290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1415 GMT 30 Jun 90

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 30 Jun (TANJUG)—The founding assembly of the Neo-Communist Movement of Yugoslavia [Novi Komunisticki Pokret Jugoslavije], which is, as it says in the platform for the elaboration of the program, "a voluntary organization of the working class, peasantry, and the intelligentsia on the bases of the scientific socialism of Marx, Engels, and Lenin," was held today in the hall of the Society of Engineers and Technicians in Belgrade.

Opening the meeting on behalf of the initiative committee, partisan war veteran and writer Radonja Vesovic said of the movement that "it is the continuator of the revolutionary potential extinguished in the former LCY [League of Communists of Yugoslavia]" and that it intends to become "the rallying point for all communist forces in Yugoslavia" and "a center for resistance to the return of capitalism." The writer Miodrag Renovcevic sees the human advance guard of the movement in the 270,000 communists, according to his figures, expelled from the Communist Party of Yugoslavia between 1948 and 1954. [passage omitted]

In the platform, the changes in East Europe are characterized as "a counter-revolutionary plot," and Ante Markovic's economic program "in essence coincides with the aspirations of all opposition parties in the country and leads to the restoration of capitalism." Of the entry of Yugoslavia into the EC, it is said that it would mean "the definitive loss of economic and political independence and the betrayal not only of present but also of future generations in the country."

In the debate, in which several participants presented themselves saying that "they are victims of 40 years of terror and persecution," the demand was made that the movement be renamed the Communist Party of Yugoslavia or unite with other groups of "true communists." Branko Boskovic greeted this meeting on behalf of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, which was founded in 1974 in Bar, of which he is the organizing secretary, and he called on all communists to "flow together into a river." Tomislav Ognjanovic from the Social-Democratic Alliance of Serbia was prevented by shouts and whistling from finishing his speech of greetings, because he went as far as saying that "no ideology, not even communism, can get the country out of the crisis." Only after the intervention of the working presidium to calm down the audience was high school student Boris Stanisic, who spoke about "there being no need to negate and destroy everything which Tito created," successful in saying what he had to say.

After it was explained to those present—about 200 of them—that this assembly has a demonstrative character and that the founding congress will be held by the end of the year, it was announced that the temporary leadership up until the congress had already been elected in advance with Radonja Vesovic as chairman and Branko Kitanovic as secretary.

'Democratic Action Party' Branch Formed

LD3006221690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1419 GMT 30 Jun 90

[Excerpt] Zenica, 30 Jun (TANJUG)—The auditorium of the 29 November cinema in Zenica was too small to receive all those who wanted to attend the founding assembly of the branch of the Democratic Action Party [Stranka Demokratske Akcije] in Zenica today. In front of about 800 inhabitants of Zenica and surrounding villages, the party's leaders, its Chairman Alija Izetbegovic and Vice-Chairman Adil Zulfikarpasic, set out the aims and program declaration of the party. The founding assembly was attended and its work particpated in by representatives of party branches in Sarajevo, Tesanj, Brcko, Banja Luka, Ljubljana, and Vienna. [passage omitted]

'Democratic Party of Bosnia-Hercegovina' Created

LD0107125790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0952 GMT 1 Jul 90

[Summary] Sarajevo, 1 Jul (TANJUG)—The founding assembly of the Democratic Party of Bosnia-Hercegovina [Demokrataka Partija Bosne i Hercegovine] has been held in Sarajevo. Although, according to its leaders, its membership is estimated at 5,000, this assembly attracted only 50 or so people. Petar Milic was elected chairman of the party.

Drnovsek Views Current Reforms, Issues

LD0207161990 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1252 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Text] Madrid, 2 Jul (TANJUG)—Participating in an international seminar on the democratic structure of new Europe in Madrid today, member of the Yugoslav State Presidency Janez Drnovsek said that Yugoslavia had started its democratic reforms much earlier than other East European countries. The current changes in Yugoslavia are more of a continuity of earlier processes than a reflection of a dramatic turning point, Drnovsek added.

The seminar is also attended by former Romanian foreign minister Sergiu Celak, head of the Hungarian parliamentary group Imre Pozsgay, Spanish Foreign Minister Fernandez Ordonez and a number of other prominent European officials.

The democratic construction of Europe is an urgent and substantive issue facing our continent and our time, President of the European Parliament Jose Vidal of Spain said in his opening address at the seminar.

"It is a difficult and delicate issue. The future of the whole planet still depends on Europe. Only a project of great Europe can put an end to East-West antagonisms forever. Only a European federation without imperial ambitions and universal pretensions can stabilize peace on the earth," said Vidal.

Speaking of the future Europe, its integrations and strivings, Drnovsek said that Yugoslavia today was turned towards the democratic construction of future Europe and stressed its keen and vital interest in joining all its continental and regional integrations.

He told the participants that Yugoslavia had already applied for joining the Council of Europe, that it was cooperating with all European integrations and that—provided its reforms continued at the current pace—it would be ready to join the European Community in a few years' time.

Speaking of Yugoslavia's democratic and economic reforms, Drnovsek singled out ethnic relations as a major problem in Yugoslavia today. He added that Yugoslavia's joining European integration processes would have a calming effect on the disintegratory factors within it.

Yugoslav CSCE Delegate on Kosovo Problem

LD2806162390 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1417 GMT 28 Jun 90

[Text] Copenhagen, 28 Jun (TANJUG)—Ethnic Albanians in Kosovo have greater rights than any other minority in Yugoslavia, Europe and the world. The only right they do not have is the right to secession, the head of the Yugoslav delegation, Ambassador Vladislav Jovanovic, said at today's plenary session of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) on human rights and contacts.

Jovanovic pointed out that the right to self-determination and secession of a national minority, especially of a minority whose native country is in the neighbourhood, was unknown in international law and the practice of modern states.

Replying to insinuations and accusations concerning the position of the Albanian minority in Kosovo, expressed at the conference and even more in the parallel activities of non-governmental organizations, Jovanovic said that the essential problem in Kosovo was not the protection of human rights, but the threats to the territorial integrity of Serbia and Yugoslavia.

Using evidence and arguments to present the position of ethnic Albanians in Kosovo—information about the political order in the province, the educational system, the considerable finanical aid and representation of Albanians in top federal and republican organs—Jovanovic asked, having all this in mind, how can there be a discussion on the encroachment of their rights as a national minority.

It would be more logical to discuss the question of rights of other inhabitants of Kosovo, mainly Serbs and Montenegrins, who are often deprived of basic human rights, Jovanovic said.

Recalling that around 220,000 Serbs and Montenegrins left the Province of Kosovo in the past 20 years under pressure from separatists, Jovanovic said that Yugoslavia, as a legal state, would use all legal means to prevent the separation of Kosovo from Serbia and Yugoslavia.

Kosovo was never a part of Albania, and the changes in the population structure can in no way give rise to separatism, or justify the violation of the territorial integrity of the state, Jovanovic said.

His reply to remarks and accusations about the alleged violation of human rights of ethnic Albanians in Kosovo came at the right moment—when the participants in the Copenhagen conference are working on the final document, a part of which will be devoted to national minorities.

Government Plans To Reopen Consulate in Sydney

LD0207152190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0958 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Text] Sydney, 2 Jul (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia can reopen its consulate general in Sydney which was closed in December 1988, the Australian Foreign Ministry said today.

On this occasion, minister assisting the Minister for Foreign Affairs Greg Wood today received Yugoslav ambassador in Australia Boris Cizelj.

After the meeting, Cizelj told TANJUG's correspondent that the Yugoslav Embassy would do everything possible to reopen the consulate as soon as possible, especially since the embassy in Canberra has enough people who could immediately begin performing consular tasks in Sydney.

The Austrlian Government decided to close the Yugoslav Consulate General in Sydney and expell its staff from Australia following an incident late in 1988.

Around 1,500 people demonstrated outside the Yugoslav Consulate General in Sydney on November 27, 1988. A group of pro-Ustashi demonstrators penetrated the consulate grounds, tried to desecrate the Yugoslav flag and enter the consulate by force.

Consulate security officer Zoran Matijas fired his gun in self-defence. He allegedly wounded an Australian citizen, Joseph Tokic, who was standing in front of the consulate among the other demonstrators. Yugoslavia refused to hand over Matijas to the Australian authorities.

There are around 70,000 Yugoslav Australians in Sydney and they had difficulty in obtaining documents, extending passports and had to travel 400 km to the embassy in Canberra in the past year and a half.

Commenting the decision to reopen the Yugoslav consulate, Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans said that there were no incidents involving Yugoslav diplomatic and consular officials in Australia in the past 18 months.